Toleration DISCUSS'D; IN TWO DIALOGUES.

I. Betwixt a **Conformist**, and a **Non-Conformist**; Laying open the *Impiety*, and *Danger* of a **General Liberty**.

II. Betwixt a **Presbyterian**, and an **Independent**; Concluding, upon an *Impartial Examination* of their Respective *Practices*, and *Opinions*, in Favour of the **Independent**.

The Second Edition much enlarged.

By *Roger L'Estrange*, Esq;.

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TO THE READER.

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INDEPENDENTS; *in Respect of their* Form *of* Government? Page 298

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Toleration Diſcuſs'd,

By way of Dialogue betwixt a

CONFORMIST,

AND A

NON-CONFORMIST.

Conformiſt. LIberty of *Conſcience*, or, *No Liberty of Conſcience*, is the Queſtion. What is *Conſcience*?

Non-conformiſt. Conſcience is (a) *Judicium Hominis de Semetipſo, prout ſubjicitur Judicio Dei.* (b) The Judgment that a Man makes of Himſelf and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God. Or otherwiſe, (c) It is An Ability in the Underſtanding of Man, by a Reflex Act to Judge of Himſelf in all he does, as to his Acceptance, or Rejection with God. *Rutherford* makes it to be (d) A Power of the Practical Underſtanding, according to which the Man is obliged and directed to give Judgment of Himſelf; that is, Of His State and Condition, and of all his Actions.

(a) Amefius de Conſci.
(b) Indulg. & Toler. p. 13.
(c) Liberty of Conſcience upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 3.
(d) Free Diſputation, p. 3.

ons, Inclinations, Thoughts, and Words.

C. If this be *Conſcience*, Then *Liberty of Conſcience* is *A Liberty of a Man's Judging of Himſelf, and his Actions, with reference to the future Judgment of God.*

N. C. **Right: But then he is bound likewiſe to** Practiſe **according to that** Judgment, **and** To Worſhip God according to the Light and Underſtanding which he hath, of What is that Worſhip which is Acceptable with him, in **Matter** and **Manner**, and not otherwiſe.

Indulg. & Toler, p. 13.

C. So that your *Liberty of Conſcience* is now come to *Liberty of Practiſe.* Indeed I could wiſh that the Advocates for *Liberty* would be a little more Candid in this buſineſs. They take wonderful Pains (many of Them) to prove, That *Conſcience cannot be forc'd*; *It is out of the Reach of Humane Power*; *God never appointed any Judge of it*; *Shall any Man pretend to make me believe, That which I cannot believe?* (And the like) Preſſing the Argument, as if That were the very Pinch of the Caſe, which is juſt Nothing at all to the Point in Controverſie. It is obvious to Common Reaſon, that This Suggeſtion cannot but create very dangerous and unquiet Thoughts in the People: For if they be denied *Liberty of Conſcience*

(in

(in the plain and honeſt *Engliſh* of it) They ſuffer under the moſt Barbarous, and Ridiculous Perſecution, that ever yet appear'd upon the face of the Earth. But on the other ſide, If their claim be ſtretch't to *Liberty of Practiſe*, It ſeems not only unreaſonable, but utterly Inconſiſtent, both with *Chriſtianity* it ſelf, and *the Publique Peace.* B

SECTION I.

UNIVERSAL TOLERATION too Wide, and Unlawful.

C. *Liberty of Conſcience* (as you have ſtated it) is *An Univerſal Toleration* for People to *ſay* and *do* what they pleaſe, under the Warrant and Pretext of *Conſcience.* A

N. C. **That is to ſay, In Matters properly the Subject of Conſcience,** with Reference to the future Judgment of God.

C. By This Rule, *Pagans* are to be tolerated as well as *Chriſtians*: For *They* have *Conſciences* as well as *We*: They are convinc'd, that there is a God; and that

That God ought to be Worſhip't; and may plead for the ſame Freedom, in the way and manner of their Proceeding.

N. C. **But** Paganiſm **is not within the Pale of the Queſtion.**

C. Why then, no more is *Conſcience.* If you ſay, They are in the *Wrong*, and ſo debar them the Exerciſe of their Opinion, becauſe of the *Error* of it, your Exception lies to the *Error*, not to the *Conſcience*; and may be turn'd upon your ſelves: For They ſay as much of You; and have as much right to condemn You, as You Them: Neither have you any more Right to be Judges in your own Caſe, then they in theirs.

N. C. **Well, but we have a** Law **to Judge our ſelves by.**

C. And ſo have They too: For, *They*
Rom. 2, 14. *without a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law, and are a Law unto Themſelves.*

N. C. **But how can that Law have any Regard to** the future Judgment of God, **when they deny the Immortality of the Soul?**

C. There is *a future Judgment of God* in This Life, as well as in the next: And the Conſcience that hath no Light at all of another World, is not yet without

Appre-

Apprehensions of Divine Vengeance in This. *Raro Antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pœna claudo.* You'l be as much to seek now, if you restrain your Argument to *Christianity*; for you must either prove, That there are no *Erroneous Consciences* among *Christians*; or, That *Error* of Conscience is no *Sin*; or else, That *Sin* may be *Tolerated.*

N. C. **There is no doubt but there are** Erroneous Consciences; **and it is as clear that** Sin **is not to be** Tolerated: **But I do not take every** Error **of Conscience to be a** Sin (**understand me of** Consciences **labouring under an** Invincible Ignorance.)

C. It is very true, That as to the *Formality of Sin*, which is *the Obliquity of the Will*, An *Error* of *Conscience* under an *Invincible Ignorance* is no *Sin*: But *Sin Materially* considered, is *the Transgression of the Divine Law*; and *Conscience* it self becomes *Sinful*, when it dictates against *That Law.*

N. C. **Can there be any** Sin **without** Assent; **or any** Assent **without** Knowledge; **or any** Knowledge **in a Case of** Invincible Ignorance? **The** Transgression **of the Law implies the** Knowledg **of it, or at least the** Possibility **of** Knowing **it**;

without which, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [The Conditions requisite to a Rule are These: It must be Certain; and it must be Known. If it be not Certain, it is no Rule; If it be not Known, it is no Rule to Us.]

Laud against Fisher, p. 197.

Rom. 7. 7. I had not known Sin, but by the Law (says the Text) And in another Place,

Rom. 4. 15. Where there is no Law, There is no Transgression. From whence the Deduction is clear, That Sin is not barely the Transgression of a Law, but the Transgression of a Known Law; the Inconformity of the Will to the Understanding.

C. The *Perverseness* of the *Will* being a *Sin*, does not hinder the *Enormity* of the *Judgment* to be so too. [*Until the Law,*

Rom 5. 13. *Sin was in the World; but Sin is not imputed, when there is no Law.*] In few words, The *Word* of *God* is the *Rule* of *Truth*, and all Disproportion to that *Rule* is *Error*: God's Revealed *Will* is the Measure of *Righteousness*; and all *Disproportion* to that *Measure* is *Sin*. Now the Question is not, Whether *imputed*. or *no*; but, Whether a *Sin*, or *No*: And you cannot make *Error of Conscience* to be *No Sin*, without making *the Word of God* to be *No Rule*.

N. C. I do not deny, but it is a Sin as to the Law; but it is none as to the Person; It is none Constructively, with him that accepts the Will for the Deed.

C. Can you imagine that any Condition in the *Delinquent* can operate upon the Force and Equity of the *Law*? Because *God spares the Offender*, shall *Man* therefore *tolerate the Offence*? *David* was pronounced *a Man after God's own Heart*; shall Authority therefore grant a License to *Murder* and *Adultery*?

N. C. What is David's Case to ours? You instance in Sins of Presumption, and the Question is touching Sins of Ignorance.

C. I was a Blasphemer, a Persecutor, and Injurious (says St. *Paul*) *but I obtain'd* Mercy (he does not say APPROBATION) *because I did it in* Ignorance *and* Unbeleif. 1 Tim. 1. 13. Again, The *Magistrate* has a *Conscience*, as well as the *Subject*. It may be *Ignorance* in him that *Commits* the Sin, and yet *Presumption* in him that *Suffers* it. Briefly, in pleading for *all Opinions*, you plead for *all Heresies*, and for the Establishment of Wickedness by a Law. What Swarms of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, *Familists*, *Antinomians*, *Anti-Scripturists*, *Anti-Trinitarians*, *Enthusi-*

without which, it has not the Nature of a Law, as to me. [The Conditions requisite to a Rule are These: It must be Certain; and it must be Known. If it be not Certain, it is no Rule; If it be not Known, it is no Rule to Us.]

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1 Tim. 1. 13.

asts (and what Not?) have started up even in our days, under the Protection of *Liberty of Conscience*? What Blasphemous and Desperate Opinions, to the Subversion both of Faith and Government! Where's the Authority of the Scriptures, and the Reverence of Religion, when every Man shall make a Bible of his Conscience, divide the Holy Ghost against it self, and dash one Text upon another? He that has a mind to rake further in this Puddle, let him read *Edwards* his *Gangræna*, *Bayly*'s *Dissuasive*, *Paget*'s *Hæresiography*, *&c.*

To pass now from *Opinions*, to *Practices*. The Liberty you challenge, opens a door to all sorts of Villany and Outrage imaginable; to Rapine, Murder, Rebellion, King-killing.

Indulg. & Toler. p. 13, 14.

N. C. As if any Man that has a Conscience of his own, or knows what Conscience is, could give Entertainment to so fond an Imagination, as to suppose, that God at the last day will approve of Murders, Seditions, and the like Evils: Since what is Evil in it self, and against the Light of Nature, there is no direction unto it, no approbation of it from Conscience in the least.

C. But what will this amount to? when

when, first, Every Man's Word shall be taken for his own *Conscience*: And secondly, That Conscience pleaded in defence of his *Actions*. That which you stile *Murther*, and *Sedition*, He'll tell you is only a *Gospel-Reformation*, *The Destroying of the Hittites and the Amorites, &c.* So that you are never the better for tying a Man up to the Light of Nature in his *Actions*, if you leave him at Liberty in his *Creed*: For there is not that Impiety in the World, but he'll give you a Text for it. The Adversaries of God, that refuse to enter into *a holy Covenant with the Lord*, and submit themselves to *Christ's Scepter*, may be *Sequestred* and *Plundered*, without the Imputation of *Rapine*; for it is written, *The Meek shall inherit the Earth*: And it is no more then God's People the *Israelites* did to the *Egyptians*. Nay, if they be *Refractary*, they may be put to *Death* too, without *Murder*. [*Those mine Enemies, which would not that I should Reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me.*] If any Man has a spight at the Church, it is but calling it *Antichristian*, and Mr. *Case* shall give him a Commission to *take this Agag, and Hew it in pieces before the Lord.* Taking up *Arms* against the *Government*,

Mat. 5. 5.

Luke 19. 27.

* In his Book of the Covenant.

is *helping the Lord againſt the Mighty.* And *King-killing* it ſelf, is juſtified by the Example of *Ehud* to *Eglon.*

A *N. C.* **But do you believe any Man ſo mad, as to take theſe Extravagances for Impulſes of** Conſcience?

C. Or rather, Is not he madder that doubts it? Conſidering the Evidences we have both from Story and Experience, and the very Authority of Scripture it ſelf, in favour of believing it. Does not our Saviour foretell us of *Falſe Chriſts*, and *Falſe Prophets, that ſhall ariſe and deceive many; yea, if it were poſſible, the very Elect?* Parties are engag'd in all ſorts of Abomination, under the Maſque of *Conſcience.* Thoſe of the *League* in *Flanders*, 1503. under *Maximilian*, bound themſelves by Oath, to caſt off the Yoke of Government, and to kill and ſlay all Oppoſers; but with ſuch regard to *Religion* (I warrant ye) that every Member of that Confederacy was to ſay five *Ave Maryes* and *Pater Noſters* daily, For a Bleſſing upon the Undertaking. The *Holy League* at *Peronne*, under *Henry* the Third of *France*, was for *the Glory of God* too, and *the Preſervation of the King*: What Horrible Effects it produced, I need not tell you. *Sleydan* reckons upon *Fifty Thouſand*

Mat. 24.

B

ſand ſlain in one Summer, in the Boores Rebellion in *Germany*, 1525. And charges the Tumult upon *Seditious Preachers*, whereof *Muncer* was chief. I ſhall not need to mind you of the Damned Villanies that were acted by *Muncer*, *Phifer*, (*Becold*, or) *John of Leyden*, *Rottman*, *Knipperdolling*, *Kippenbroke*, *John Matthias*, and the reſt of that Gang, under the Impoſture of *Inſpiration*, and *Conſcience*: Their Sacking and Burning of Towns, Rapes, and Maſſacres: And all this under the pretenſe of *God's Command, and the Direction of his Holy Spirit*. Nay, ſo ſtrongly was the deluded Multitude poſſeſt with the Doctrine and Ways of their Falſe Prophets, that the *Munceri-ans*, upon the Charge of the *Landtzgrave of Heſſe*, ſtood ſtone ſtill, without ſtriking a Blow; calling upon the *Holy Ghoſt* to their Succour (as *Muncer* had promiſed them) till they were all Routed and Cut off. *Sleydan's Comment. l. 4.*

Was it not a *Holy Father*, and the *Prior* of the *Convent* (one of the Heads of the *League*) that confirm'd *Clement* in his purpoſe of Murthering *Harry* the *Third* of *France*? For his Encouragement, they aſſur'd him, That *if he outliv'd the Fact, he ſhould be a Cardinal*; *If he* *Davila delle Guer. Civ. di Fran. l. 10.*

he dy'd, a Saint. What was it again that originally diſpoſed this Monſter to
Ibid. that curſed Act? *Stimolato dalle Predicationi, che giournallmente ſentiva fare contra* Henrico di Valois, *nominato il perſecutore della Fede, & il Tyranno.* Seditious Sermons againſt the King, as a Perſecutor of the Faith, and a Tyrant. See in the ſame Author, the Confeſſion of *John Caſtle*, concerning his Attempt upon
Lib. 14. *Harry* the *Great. He had been brought up in the* Jeſuites School, *and Inſtructed, That it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious, to deſtroy* Harry of Bourbon, *That* Revolted Heretique, *and* Perſecutor *of the Holy Church.* [*Eſaminato con le ſolite Forme, confeſſo liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Helliſh Practiſe upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confeſſion) A Diſcourſe of *Mariana's, De Rege, & Regis Inſtitutione.* It was a *Divine Inſtinct* too, that mov'd *Balthaſar Gerard* to Murther the Prince
Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 5. of *Aurange.* [*Divino tantùm Inſtinctu, id à ſe patratum conſtanter affirmabat, diu Tortus.*] To conclude now with That freſh and execrable Inſtance here at Home, upon the Perſon of *the Late King*: It was the *Pulpit* that ſtarted the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflam'd it; The *Pulpit* that

that Chriſten'd it *God's Cauſe*; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People into a *Covenant* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blaſted the King, that purſu'd him, that preſt the putting of Him to Death; and the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was all this effected? (I beſeech ye) but by Impoſing upon the weak and inconſiderate Multitude, *Errors* for *Truths*; by perverting of *Scriptures*; and by Theſe Arts, moulding the *Paſſions* and the *Conſciences* of the People to the Intereſt of a Tumultuary Deſign. Theſe are the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect ſoberly upon what has been ſaid; and Tell me, Do you think ſuch a *Toleration* either fit for *You* to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*?

N. C. **The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveniences: And yet methinks, 'tis Pitty (in Caſes of ſome Honeſt Miſtakes) that a** Good **Man ſhould be puniſhed for not being a** Wiſe **Man.**

C. And were it not a greater Pitty, do ye think, for a State to keep no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of diſobliging ſome *Well-meaning Fools*? As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wiſh it could be done, even where it were Impious to

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Lib. 14. *Harry* the *Great*. *He had been brought up in the* Jeſuites School, *and Inſtructed, That it was not only Lawful, but Meritorious, to deſtroy* Harry of Bourbon, *That* Revolted Heretique, *and* Perſecutor *of the Holy Church.* [*Eſaminato con le ſolite Forme, confeſſo liberamente, &c.*] What was it that Animated *Ravillac* to his Helliſh Practiſe upon that Brave Prince? but (by his own Confeſſion) A Diſcourſe of *Mariana's, De Rege, & Regis Inſtitutione.* It was a *Divine Inſtinct* too, that mov'd *Balthaſar Gerard* to Murther the Prince
Strada de Bello Belgico, l. 5. of *Aurange*. [*Divino tantùm Inſtinctu, id à ſe patratum conſtanter affirmabat, diu Tortus.*] To conclude now with That freſh and execrable Inſtance here at Home, upon the Perſon of *the Late King*: It was the *Pulpit* that ſtarted the Quarrel; The *Pulpit* that Enflam'd it; The *Pulpit* that

that Christen'd it *God's Cause*; The *Pulpit* that conjur'd the People into a *Covenant* to defend it; The *Pulpit* that blasted the King, that pursu'd him, that prest the putting of Him to Death; and the *Pulpit* that applauded it when it was done. And how was all this effected? (I beseech ye) but by Imposing upon the weak and inconsiderate Multitude, *Errors* for *Truths*; by perverting of *Scriptures*; and by These Arts, moulding the *Passions* and the *Consciences* of the People to the Interest of a Tumultuary Design. These are the Fruits of the *Toleration* you demand. Reflect soberly upon what has been said; and Tell me, Do you think such a *Toleration* either fit for *You* to *Ask*, or for *Authority* to *Grant*?

N. C. **The Truth is, In this Latitude there may be great Inconveniences: And yet methinks, 'tis Pitty (in Cases of some Honest Mistakes) that a** Good **Man should be punished for not being a** Wise **Man.**

C. And were it not a greater Pitty, do ye think, for a State to keep no Check upon *Crafty Knaves*, for fear of disobliging some *Well-meaning Fools*? As to the Sparing of the *Man*, I wish it could be done, even where it were Impious to

give

6 give Quarter to the *Opinion*: But how ſhall we ſeparate the *Errour* from the *Perſon*, ſo as to make a *General Law* take notice of it? It were *Irreligious* to Tolerate Both, and it ſeems to me *Impoſſible* to *ſever* them. If you your ſelf now can either prove the *former* to be *Lawful* (that is, *to do Evil, that Good may come of it*) or the *latter* to be *Practicable*, I'le agree with you for a *General Toleration*: If not, I hope you'l joyn with me againſt it.

Liberty of Conſc. upon its true and proper Grounds, p. 12.

N. C. I am not for a Toleration (as I told you) againſt the Light of Nature; nor would I have any Pretenſe of Conſcience admitted, that leads to the Deſtruction of the Magiſtrate, and the Diſturbance of the Government.

C. That is to ſay, You will content Your ſelf with *a Limited Toleration*; which, I fear, upon the Debate, will prove as much too *narrow* for you, as the Other was too *wide*.

SECT. II.

LIMITED TOLERATION too Narrow, and Disobliging to the Excluded Party.

C. BY a *Limited Toleration* we may understand *A Legal Grant of Freedom and Immunity, in Matters of Religion, to Persons of such and such Perswasions, and to no Others.*

N. C. **Oh, if you please,** An Exemption from the Lash of the Act of Uniformity.

C. You say something, if This would do the Work. But to dissolve a Solemn Law, for the Satisfaction of Some Particulars, and at last leave the People worse then we found them, were certainly a gross Oversight. However, what's your Quarrel to it?

N. C. **I think it a great Cruelty to confine a multitude of** differing Judgments **to the** same Rule, **and to punish a Conscientious People for those Disagreements, which they can neither avoid, nor relinquish.**

C. Why will you Practise that Cruelty your

your selves then, which you condemn in others? For *Limited Toleration*, is an Act of *Uniformity* to those that are *excluded*. They that are within the Comprehension, will be well enough: But what will become of them that are left out? who have *Consciences* as well as their Fellows, and as good a Title to an Indulgence, as those that are taken in. Upon a fair View of the Matter, you can neither admit *All*, without Offence to your *Conscience*; nor leave out *Any*, without a *Cheque* to your *Argument*.

N. C. **And yet I am perswaded a** Limited Toleration **would give Abundant Satisfaction.**

C. Suppose you had it, and your self One of the *Rejected Party*: Are not you as well now, without any *Toleration* at all, as you would be then, without receiving any *Benefit* by it?

N. C. **To deal freely, I would not willingly be excluded.**

C. And is not That every Man's Case, as well as yours? *A Limited Toleration* must Exclude *Some*, and why not *You*, as well as *Another*? Or indeed, Why should not *All* be *Tolerated*, as well as *Any*? They can no more abandon their Opinions, then you Yours: And *Your Ways* are

are just the same Grievances to *Them*, which (if You may be credited) *Ours* are to *You*. So that most undeniably, the Plea of the *Nonconformists* upon the Point of *Conscience*, is all alike: And since None of them have more Right to an Indulgence, One then Another, Why should any Party of them expect more *Favour*; to the Exclusion and Disobligation of the Rest?

N. C. **But are not Some** Opinions **more tolerable then Others? Do you put no Difference betwixt** Truth **and** Errour? **Betwixt Points** Fundamental **and** Non-Fundamental? **Betwixt the very** Basis **of** Christianity, **and the** Superstructure? **In fine, Betwixt such Principles as affect** Order **and** Publique Agreement, **and others that flow Naturally into** Looseness **and** Confusion?

C. Without Dispute, Some Opinions and Principles are more allowable then Others: But where lieth the Right of *Allowing*, or *Rejecting*? Let This be first examined, and then we'l advise upon the *Opinions*, and *Principles* themselves, what may be allow'd, and what Not.

SECT. III.

No Toleration to be admitted but with the Allowance of the Chief Magiſtrate.

C. WE are agreed, firſt, That an *Univerſal Toleration* (implying a Licenſe to all ſorts of Wickedneſs) is not upon any terms to be admitted. Secondly, That a *Limited Toleration* (being a Grant of Favour to Some, and Excluſive of Others) muſt needs lay a Diſobligation upon the Excluded Party. The next Point will be, Where to place the Power of Permitting, or Refuſing; and from thence we ſhall paſs to an Inquiry into the *Bounds* and *Limits* of ſuch a *Toleration* as may be warrantable: Which being once ſettled, we are to ſee how far the Pretenſes and Qualifications of the Parties concern'd will ſuit with thoſe Meaſures.

Diſc. of Relig. Preface.

N.C. **Grant us but** an Indulgence to Diſſenters of Sound Faith, and Good Life; **We ask no more. Let Nothing be impoſed upon us that is grievous to** our Conſciences **on the One Hand, and**

We shall never desire a Toleration **of any thing that is justly Offensive to** Church **or** State **on the Other.**

C. But What if the Dissenters shall call that *Sound Doctrine*, which the Church defines *Heresie*? What if the Subject shall account That Imposition *grievous*, which the Magistrate thinks *Necessary*? Or, That Liberty *Conscientious*, which the Governour esteems *Unlawful*? Who shall over-rule? If the *Subject*, it follows then, That the *Magistrate* is obliged to *Tolerate* whatsoever the *Subject* shall judge Himself obliged to *do*: And this carries us back into a *General Toleration*. If the *Magistrate* over-rule, your Plea of *Conscience* is out of Doors: And it is at his Choice, What sorts of Dissenters to Indulge; and, Whether Any, or None, at his Pleasure.

N. C. **The World, you know, is as much divided about the** Power **of the** Civil Magistrate **in matters of** Religion, **as about any other part (perchance) of our Debate.**

C. We shall discourse That more at large elsewhere. But however, as to this Particular, let us come to a present Settlement, that we may clear our way as we go. If you make the *People* Judges

of what is fit to be *Tolerated*, *Firſt*, (as I ſaid before) You are upon the Old Rock of *Univerſal Toleration*; for (right or wrong) every Man will ſtick to the freedom of his own way. *Secondly*, You lay the Foundation of a Quarrel never to be reconciled. You ſhall have as many *Factions*, as *Men*; As many *Religions*, as *Fancies*; and every *Diſſenter* ſhall be both a *Party*, and a *Judge*. To imagine an Agreement betwixt the *Magiſtrate* and the *Multitude*, by the Common Conſent of Both; were to ſuppoſe an Accommodation betwixt Heaven and Hell, betwixt Light and Darkneſs; which are every jot as Capable of it, as ſeveral of the Differences now before us. And for an Umpire in the Caſe, you can pretend to None.

N.C. Pardon me: We have the Word of God to repair to, in what concerns Sound Faith; and the Light of Nature for our Guide, in the Duties of Good Life.

C. This is to make that which was the *Ground* of the *firſt Controverſie*, the *Umpire* of the *Second*. For what is the Original of all our Grand Diſagreements, but (as St. *Auguſtine* has it) *Bonæ Scripturæ male intellectæ*; Good Scriptures ill underſtood?

derstood? And we are never the nearer an Accord for the Reading of Them, without another Moderator to set us right in the meaning of Them. Neither is *the Light of Nature* any more Exempt from false Glosses and Misconstructions, then the *Bible*. Upon the whole matter, you see the Absurdities and Inconveniences that follow upon placing the Judgment and Direction of Ordering these Matters of Difference, any where else then in the *Magistrate*: Whose Duty and Interest it is, both as a *Christian* and as a *Ruler*, to put an end to these Impious Contentions, by such Rules and Establishments as may secure the Foundations both of *Religion* and *Government*.

N C. **This would do well, if Men were agreed upon those Rules: But Several Men, we see, have Various Apprehensions of the self-same thing; And That which One Man takes for a** Rule, **another counts an** Error.

C. You are at your *Universal Toleration* again: But pray mark the Consequences of this way of Reasoning: Because the *Multitude* cannot agree upon a *Rule*, there shall be *None* at all. Pursue this Argument, and there shall be no *Law*, No *Religion*, No *Scripture*, No *Truth*,

left in the World. Because Men differ, Which is the *true Religion*. They disagree about the *Doctrine* of the Bible. That which is *Truth* to *One* Man, is *Heresie* to *another*. And never was there any Law that pleased all People.

Authority says, *Worship Thus*, or *So*: The *Libertine* cries, *No*, *'Tis a Confinement of the Spirit*; *An Invention of Man*; *A making of That Necessary which God left Free*; *A Scandal to Tender Consciences*, *&c.* And here is Authority concluded as to the *Manner* of Worship.

So for the *Time*. *How do they know when Christ was Born*, *Crucified*, *or Raised from the Dead*. The Churches *Fasting-days* They make their *Jubile's*. *Videas hodie Quosdam* (says *Calvin*) *quibus sua Libertas non videtur Consistere*, *nisi per Esum Carnium die Veneris in ejus Possessionem venerint*. We have many Now adays, that would look upon their Liberty as good as forfeited, if they should not maintain their Title to it, by Eating Flesh on Fasting-days.

Institut. de Libertate Christiana.

'Tis the same thing as to the *Place*, Command them to *Church*, They will tell you, *There is no Inherent Holiness in the Walls*: *The Hearts of the Saints are the*

the Temples of the Lord: Is not God to be found in a Parlour, as well as in a Steeple-house? Finally, What have they to say for all This, But that This is One Man's Judgment, That Another's? This or That may be indifferent to you, but not to me. To conclude, What One Man urges, All may; and in All Cases, as well as in Any: Which has brought us once again to an *indeterminable Liberty*; The last Resort of all the Champions of your Cause, if they be followed home. Now if you can assign any other Arbitrator of this Matter then the Civil Power, do it: If you cannot, let us proceed.

N. C. **Go forward then.**

SECT. IV.

The BOUNDS of Toleration. And the Error of making Fundamentals *and* Non-Fundamentals *to be the Measure of it.*

C. IN *the Question of Toleration* (says a Learned Prelate) *the Foundation of* Faith, Good Life, *and* Government *is to be secured*: Wherein is comprised a Provision and Care, that we may live as

Christians toward God, As *Members of a Community* toward one another, and as *Loyal Subjects* toward our Sovereign. If you'l take This for the Standard of your *Toleration*, we have no more to do, but to apply Matters in Controversie to the Rules of *Christianity*, *Good Manners*, and *Government*; and to entertein or reject all Pretensions, thereafter as we find them Agreeable, or Repugnant, to *Religion*, *Morality*, and *Society*.

N. C. Very well stated truly, I think.

C. All the Danger is, the falling to pieces again, when we come to bring This and That to the Test. For if we differ at last upon the Application of Particular Points, and Actions, to the General Heads of *Faith*, and *Government* already laid down and agreed upon, We shall yet lose our selves in Uncertainty, and Confusion.

N. C. There will be no fear of That, if we tye up our selves to Fundamentals.

C. What do you mean by *Fundamentals*?

A *N. C.* There are Fundamentals of Faith, that bind Us as we are Christians; And there are Fundamentals of Practice,

Practice, **that oblige us as we are Members of a** Community. **From Theſe** Fundamentals **there lies no Appeal to** Conſcience. **In other Matters** (**which we look upon as** Non-Fundamental) **we think it reaſonable to Deſire a** Toleration.

C. This Diſtinction has a fair Appearance; but there is no truſting to it. Firſt, it propoſes a thing neither *Practicable*, nor *Reaſonable*; which is, The Uniting of all People under one Common Bond of *Fundamentals*. What poſſibility is there of attaining ſuch an Agreement, among ſo many Inſuperable Diverſities of Judgment, as reign in Mankind? Inſomuch, that what is a *Fundamental Truth* to *One*, is a *Fundamental Error* to *Another*; and Every Man is ready to abide the Faggot for his own Opinion. It is alſo very *unreaſonable* to exact it. God Almighty does not require the *ſame Fundamentals* from all Men alike; But *Much from Him to whom Much is given*, and *Little from Him, to whom Little*: And from All, according to their differing Degrees, and Meaſures, of Grace, and Knowledg. You will likewiſe find your ſelf under great *Uncertainty* about the Stating of your *Fundamentals*: For divers *Circumſtances*, of

of Little, or No value in Themſelves, become *Fundamental* in reſpect of their *Conſequences*. As for Inſtance; That *Chriſt died for Sinners*, I preſume ſhall be one Article of your *Faith*: But whether upon *Mount Calvary*, or ſome other part of the Neighbourhood, ſeems of no great Moment, as to the Main of Our Salvation. And yet he that denies, that Our Saviour ſuffer'd upon *Mount Calvary*, puts as great an Affront upon the *Veracity* of the *Holy Ghoſt* in the Goſpel, as He which denies that he ſuffer'd upon the *Croſs*.

N. C. **I give it for Granted, that** from ſome, more is required; from others, leſs: **In proportion to their Differing Gifts and Graces. But then there are ſome Principles, ſo** Eſſential **to** Chriſtianity, **and ſo** clear **in** Themſelves, **as to admit of no Diſpute.**

C. Saving That *Grand Foundation* of
1 Joh. 4. 3. Our *Faith*, that *Jeſus Chriſt is come in*
15. *the Fleſh*; and that *Whoſoever confeſſes, that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and He in God.* (Saving (I ſay) That Radical Principle, which if we disbelieve, we are no longer *Chriſtians*) There is ſcarce One Point that has not been ſubjected to a Controverſie. If

you

you reduce your *Fundamentals* to This Scantling, Your *Creed* will lie in a very Narrow Compass: But your *Toleration* will be Large Enough, if you are at Liberty for the rest. Touching the *Clearness* of them, I do not comprehend it: For *Supernatural Truths* hold no Proportion at all with the Ordinary Motions of *Humane Reason*. If They be so clear, Tell us, What they are; Where we shall look for them; and How we shall know them when we have found them.

N. C. **Where should we look for the** Foundation **of our** Faith, **but in the** New-Testament **of** Jesus Christ?

C. But still we do not all read the Bible with the same Spectacles. To draw to an Issue; *Generals* conclude nothing, so long as we are left at Freedom to wrangle about *Particulars*; and you will find much surer footing upon the *Foundations* of *Establish'd Law*, then upon the Whimseys of *Popular Speculation*. To my thinking, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of *England*, as it is settled by *Acts of Parliament*, with other Legal Constitutions, for the Peace, and Order of the Government, are every whit as competent a Provision for the Good of the Publique, as your new *Fundamentals*. B

N. C. The

N. C. **The Point is not (as you ſeem to underſtand it) a Competition between Our** Fundamentals **of** Notion, **and Yours of** Law: **But an Inquiry concerning the Limits of a Juſtifiable** Toleration.

C. Very Good: And you refer us to your Diſtinction of *Fundamentals* and *Non-Fundamentals*, as to a Rule, how far we are at Liberty, and wherein we are Bounded. But This will not do the work; and I have ſpent the more words about it, becauſe I find This Diſtinction the Ordinary Retreat of Your Party. The Truth of it is, there's not One of a Hundred of you, but takes This Queſtion by the wrong Handle. You make it a Queſtion of *Conſcience*, and *Religion*, What *may* be *Tolerated*, and what *not*: Whereas the thing falls properly under a Conſideration of *State*. In Matters not to be *Tolerated* (as in *Articles of Religion*) The Magiſtrate is poſitively *bound up*; In other Caſes, He may chuſe, whether he will *Tolerate*, or *Reſtrain*; That is to ſay, with a perpetual Regard to the Quiet, and Security of the Publique. Where *Particulars* may be relieved, without Inconvenience to *Communities*, it is well: But otherwiſe, *Private Conſciences* weigh

weigh little in the Scale againſt *Political Societies*: And *Toleration* is only ſo far allowable, as it complies with the Neceſſities, and Ends of *Government*.

N. C. **That is to ſay (according to your firſt Reſolution)** The Foundation of Faith, Good Life, and Government is to be ſecured: **Wherein I am content to cloſe with you; though there are ſome, that believe the Right of Toleration may be defended without any Reſtrictions.**

C. For Diſcourſe ſake, pray try, what you can make on't, either with, or without.

SECT. V.

The Common Arguments for TOLERATION, *Examined.*

N. C. NO *Man under the Goſpel ought to be compell'd to believe any thing; and if not to believe, then not to practiſe.* Lib. of Conſc. P. 37.

C. Rutherford ſays well to this Point: That *the Magiſtrate is not to force Men* Poſitively *to* External Worſhip; *but* Negatively,

gatively, *to punish Acts of* False Worship, *and* Omissions *of* External Performances *of* Worship, *as of Ill Example to Others*: *Not* Commanding Outward Performances, *as Service to God*; *but* forbidding Omissions *of them, as Destructive to Man.*

Lib. of Consc. p. 38. *N. C. It is a strange Absurdity to force Men, against their own Light, to be guided by Others, unless we are sure, we cannot mistake.*

C. But were it not a stranger Absurdity, to leave every Man at Liberty to set up a New Light of his own; and then to subject the United Light of the Nation (which is the *Law*) to the Scatter'd Lights of Private Persons?

N. C. **But does not One Man see that sometimes, which a Thousand may miss?**

C. And because This is possible, is the Odds therefore upon One against a Thousand? Or if so, Why may not the Church be in the Right against the People, as well as any Particular of the People, against the Church, and the Rest? This is most Certain, that of a Thousand Differing Opinions, there can be but One Right: And a Toleration upon your supposal, is sure to set up Nine hundred ninety

ninety nine Errors: Which is the ready way to bring People to cutting of Throats for Opinions.

N. C. **If a *Magistrate* may punish all that his *Conscience* says are in the *wrong*, then All *Persecutors* are in the *right*.**

C. Men are not punish't for their *Consciences*, but for their *Actions*: And if a *Magistrate* may not restrain Liberty of *Action*, then All *Rebellions* are in the *Right*.

N. C. The Magistrate is appointed to see That Executed which Christ hath appointed in Religion; and Punctually ty'd up, **neither to *Add*, nor to *Diminish*, either in the *Matter*, or in the *Manner*. The *Manner* Christ hath appointed, being as positively obliging as the *Matter*.** Lib. of Consc. p. 24.

C. If it be the Magistrate's Duty to see Christ's Appointments in Religion Executed, in *Matter*, and *Manner*, without *Adding*, or *Diminishing*: *First*, You must allow him to be a Competent Judge of What Christ hath appointed; (for otherwise his Commission directs him to do He knows not What.) *Secondly*, According to your Argument, there is but *One Way of Worship*, Warrantable; which

puts

puts a Bar unto any sort of *Toleration* whatsoever.

Lib. of Consc. P. 13, 14.

N. C. If the *Magistrate* has any Power over the *Consciences* of his People, How came he by it? For *he that hath no other, then the* Light of Nature, *hath as much Power, as if he were* Christian; *and by becoming* Christian *hath no Addition of Power to what he had before.*

C. It is true, that *Christianity* (as you put the Case) does not confer upon the *Magistrate* any *New Power*; but it lays upon him an *Additional Obligation* of *Duty*. While his *Conscience* was *Pagan*, He took his Measures only from *Humane Prudence*, and *the Light of Nature*. But upon his *Conversion*, He falls under the Dictate of a *Conscience* that is *Further*, and *Otherwise Enlighten'd*: And becomes Answerable, as well for the Establishing, Securing, and Promoting of *Christianity*, as for the Political Conservation of his *People*, and *Government*.

N. C. Persecution may make *Hypocrites*, but not *Converts*.

C. You may say the Same thing of the *Law*, in other Cases. That makes many Men Honest in appearance, for fear of Punishment; that are yet rotten at Heart. Nay, I am further perswaded, that

that *where Severity makes one Hypocrite, It cures a hundred.* For so long as there is either *Profit*, or *Credit* to be got, by the *Disguise* of *Religion*, All Men of *Corrupt Principles*, and *Designs* will flow into the *Party*. But when That *Temptation* to *Hypocrisie* shall be removed; and that they find nothing to be gotten by the Imposture, but *Punishment*, and *Disgrace*, They will soon betake themselves to a more regular Station in the Government. *Many a Counterfeit Cripple has been cured with a Dog-whip.*

N. C. Are *Heresies* to be *Extirpated*, and *Truth* to be *Propagated* by the *Sword*, or by the *Word?*

C. If it be the *Penalty* you oppose; Where the *Word* will not do, You your selves fly to *Censures*, and *Excommunications*, which are *Punishments*, as well as *Corporal*, and *Pecuniary Inflictions*; and as little *Instructive*. But you are upon a Mistake: The *Civil Power* does not so much Pretend to the Recovery of those that are out of the Way, as to the Saving of the Rest: Nor does It properly Punish any Man, as an *Heretic*, but as a *Seducer*. Do you but let the King's Subjects alone, and He'l never trouble Himself to Impose upon your Consciences. If it

reaches not Wickedneſs in the *Heart*, It provides yet againſt the *Infection* of it, and the *Scandal*; by keeping the Hands, and Tongues of Licentious People in Order.

A

N. C. **I do not deny, but that a** *Rigorous Law* **may have ſome Profitable Influence upon the** *Looſer Sort*: **Yet ſtill it falls heavy upon the** *Innocent*, **as well as upon the** *Guilty*. **To** *Know*, *Believe*, **or** *Profeſs* **are not in our Power: And ſhall a Man be puniſh't for want of** *Grace*, **or** *Underſtanding*?

C. Though it is not in our Power to *Know*, and *Believe*, as we pleaſe; yet to forbear *publiſhing* of our Thoughts, and *Acting* in Relation to Them, is unqueſtionably in our Power. Neither is any Man to be puniſh't for want of *Grace*, or *Underſtanding*: But yet it will be ill, if thoſe Defects may paſs for an Excuſe. All manner of Impiety ſhould then go Scot-free: for without Doubt, *Let Fools be Priviledged, and all Knaves ſhall pretend*

B

Ignorance.

Lib. of Conſc. p. 27.

N. C. No Man can call **Jeſus the Chriſt**, *but by the* **Holy Ghoſt**: *Will you puniſh any Man for not having the* **Holy Ghoſt**?

C. No Man that hath the *Holy Ghoſt*,

Will

will deny *Jesus* to be the *Christ*: Will you punish any Man for denying *Jesus* to be *Christ*; that is to say, for not having the *Holy Ghost*?

N. C. **He that acts** *against* **his** *Conscience, Sins.* A

C. And so does he that Acts *by* it, If in *Error.*

N. C. ***Every Man is true to*** **God,** ***that is true to his*** **Conscience,** ***though it be*** **Erroneous.** Lib. of Consc. p. 56.

C. Will it not then follow, that a Man may worship the *Sun*, or the *Moon*, and yet *be true to God*, if That *Worship* be according to his *Conscience*? To clear This Point; Some *Consciences* are *Erroneous* upon the score of *Invincible Ignorance*; and That Insuperable Frailty is a fair Excuse: But Some *Consciences* again are *Erroneous* for want of due *Care*, *Search*, and *Enquiry*; Others, out of *Pertinacy*: And there is no *Plea* to be admitted for *These Consciences.*

N. C. **How do you know, but you may persecute** *God*, **in the** *Conscience* **of a True Believer, as** *St. Paul* **did, before his Conversion?** B

C. If I may turn your own Reason against your self, I may do it, and yet be true to *God*; if in so doing, I am true

to my *Conscience*. But still you confound *Conscience*, and *Practise*; whereas the *Civil Magistrate* pretends to no sort of *Authority*, or *Dominion* over the *Conscience*. And your Objection is of as little force any other way: For the *Magistrate* is no more *Infallible* in *One Case*, then in *Another*; and may as well Dread the Persecuting of *God*, in the *Conscience* of a *Murderer*, or any other *Criminal*, as in That of an *Heretick*.

N. C. **I think we have enough: But it may be, This *Toleration* will please us better in the *Exercise*, then it does in the *Speculation*.**

C. What Hinders then, but we may try it that way too?

SECT. VI.

TOLERATION undermines the Law, and causes Confusion *both in* Church *and* State.

N. C. **Why may not a *Toleration* do as well *here*, as in *France*?**

C. How do you mean? Would you have

have his *Majesty* of *Great-Britain*, Tolerate *Roman-Catholicks here*, as his Most *Christian Majesty* does *Protestants* in *France*?

N. C. **You speak as if None were to be Tolerated but** *Papists.*

C. Not I truly: But so it must be, if you'l have your *Toleration* after the *French Fashion.* Can you shew me that any *Non-Conforming Roman Catholicks* are Tolerated *There*? Nay; Or that those of the *Religion* do *Subdivide*, or break Communion among *Themselves*? Such an Instance might stand you in some stead.

N. C. **But is it not More, To** *Tolerate* **a** *Forreign Religion*, **then to** *Indulge* **your** *own*? **To permit** *Freedom of Worship* **to those you repute** *Hereticks*, **then to** *Relaxe* **a little towards your** *Orthodox* **Friends?**

C. The Question is not, in Matter of *Religion*, whether to Favour *Sound Faith*, or *Heresie*; but in *Reason of State*, whether is more Advisable, to *Tolerate* the Exercise of quite a *Different Religion*; Or a *Separation* from the *Church-Order Establish't.* Alas! In several Religions (and especially where the Professors are divided by mutual Prejudice, and Principles of

ſtrong Oppoſition, (as in this Caſe too much they are) There's no great fear of gathering, and engaging Parties, to the Diſturbance of the Publick Peace. *There is a great Gulf* (as he ſays) *betwixt them.* And Men do not uſually ſtart from one Extreme to another, at a Leap; But *to Tolerate One Church within Another, is to Authorize a Diſſolution of the Government both Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil.* And the Defection is the more Dangerous, becauſe it is almoſt Inſenſible. As many as will leave you, may; and every Diſſenter is *double*: *One loſt*, to the *Government*; *Another gain'd*, to the *Schiſm*: Which will quickly bring down Authority to the Mercy of the People. In fine, *By Toleration, a Kingdom is divided againſt it ſelf, and cannot ſtand.*

N. C. **When you have taken Breath, Do me the Favour to make out what you ſay.**

C. The Demand of a *Toleration*, is in it ſelf, the *Condemnation* of an *Eſtabliſh'd Law*; and not without hard Reflexions neither, both upon the *Equity*, and *Prudence* of the *Law makers.* So that, at firſt Daſh, here is the *Law unhing'd*: For *If any One Law may be queſtion'd by the Multitude, The Conſequence reaches to All the Reſt.* *N. C.* We

N. C. **We do not question, either the** *Prudence* **of the** *Law-Makers*; **Nor the General** *Equity* **of the** *Constitution*. **Only where God hath not given Us** *Consciences* **suitable to the** *Rule*, **We humbly desire such a** *Rule*, **as may Comply with Our** *Consciences*.

C. Would you have a *Law* that shall Comply with all *Consciences*? God Almighty Himself never made a Law that pleased all People.

N. C. **It would be well then, that you should bring all Men to the** *same Mind*, **before you force them to the** *same Rule*.

C. But it would be ill, if there should be *no Rule* at all, till we had found out One that *all People* should say *Amen* to.

N. C. **We do not ask the** *Vacating* **of a Law, but the** *Widening* **of it.**

C. Why then you ask a worse thing; for it were much better for the Publique, totally to *Vacate a Good Law*, then to suffer a *Contempt*, even upon a *Bad One*. If the *Reason* of such or such a Law be gone, Repeal the *Law*. But to let the *Obligation fall*, and the *Law stand*, seems to be a *Solœcism* in Government. You should consider, that *Laws* are not made for *Particulars*; but framed with a Re-

gard to the *Community*: And They ought to ſtand *Firm*, and *Inexorable*. If once they come to Hearken to *Popular Expoſtulations*, and to ſide with *By-Intereſts*, the Reverence of Government is ſhaken.

N. C. **But where's the Danger of Receding from that Inexorable Strictneſs?**

C. Here it lies. It implies an Aſſent, both to the *Equity* of the *Complaint*, and to the *Reaſon* of the *Opinion* in Queſtion: (If not alſo a Submiſſion to *Importunity*, and *Clamor*.) And among many Ill Conſequences, It draws This after It, for One. If any *One ſort of People* may be allow'd to challenge any *One Law*; *All other Sorts* have an Equal Right of Complaining againſt *All*, or any of the *Reſt*. So that a *Toleration*, thus Extorted, does not only unſettle the *Law*; but miniſters Argument to the Pretenſe of *Popular Reformation*. To ſay Nothing of the Credit it gives to the Diſobedient, and Diſcouragement to thoſe that keep their Stations: Beſide what may be reflected upon the Magiſtrate, for Inſtability of Counſels.

Another Exception may be This: How ſhall we diſtinguiſh betwixt *Faction*, and *Conſcience*? If it prove to be the *former*,

A *Toleration* does the Buſineſs to their Hand. Nay, Suppoſe it the *latter*; and that, hitherto, there is Nothing but pure *Conſcience* in the Caſe; What Security have We, that it ſhall not yet embroil us in *Mutiny*, and *Sedition*? Will not the *Tolerated Party* become a Sanctuary for all the *Turbulent Spirits* in the Nation? Shall they not have their *Meetings*, and *Conſultations*, without Controul? And when they ſhall ſee the *Law* Proſtituted to the Luſts of the Multitude; The *Order* of the Government *diſſolved*; and the *Government* it ſelf left *naked*, and *ſupportleſs*; What can We Expect ſhall be the End of theſe things, but *Miſery*, and *Confuſion*?

Nor is it all, that a *Toleration* is of manifeſt *Hazard* to us: But it is *That* too, without any ſort of *Benefit* in Return. Shall we be the *Quieter* for it? No. *One Grant* ſhall become a *Preſident*, for *Another*; And ſo ſhall *One Importunity* for *Another*, Till we are brought in the *End*, either to a *General Licenſe*; Or to a *General Tumult*. (No matter Which) The *Rejected Party* will be ſure to mind you, that They are as good *Subjects*, and have as good *Claims* as Others, that are *Tolerated*; upon which diſobliging ſcore, there

there falls an *Odium*, and *Envy* upon the Government.

I think a Man shall not need the Spirit of *Propheſie*, to foretel theſe Events. For a *Toleration* does naturally *Evirtuate* the *Law*, and lead to a *Total Diſſolution* of *Eccleſiaſtical Order*; and Conſequently, to a *Confuſion*, both in *Church*, and *State*.

A *N. C.* **I do not find my ſelf much preſs'd by any thing now offer'd: If a *Toleration unhinges the Law*, 'Tis but making the *Law* a little *Wider*, and then that Block is removed. And ſo is the Fear likewiſe of bringing preſent *Importunities* into *Preſident*: For All *Tolerable Liberties* may be comprehended within that *Latitude*. And as to the matter of Impoſing *Faction* for *Conſcience*, ſuch a Proviſion ſecures You, as**
B **well, as the Act for *Uniformity*.**

C. I have ſpoken as much as Needs to this Point: If you think you have any Right to a *Toleration*, make it out; and Approve your ſelves for a Generation of People, to Whom, the King may with *Honour*, and *Safety*, Extend a Bounty.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

The Non-Conformist's Plea for Toleration, upon REASON OF STATE.

C. THe Ordinary Motives to *Indulgence*, are These Three. 1. *Reason of State.* 2. *The Merits of the Party.* 3 *The Innocence, and Modesty of their Practises, and Opinions.* What have you to say now for a *Toleration* upon *Reason of State?* A

N. C. **The *Non-Conformists* are the *King's Subjects*; and What's a *King* without his *People?***

C. By *Birth*, and *Obligation*, they are the *King's Subjects*; but if they be not so in *Practise*, and *Obedience*, They have no longer any Title to the Benefit of his *Protection*; And such *Subjects* are the worst of *Enemies.* B

N. C. **You will not deny them however to be a *Numerous Party*; And a People of *Conduct*, and *Unity*: Which puts the Government under some kind of Prudential Necessity, to oblige so Considerable an Interest.**

C. If

C. If they be conſequently *Dangerous*, becauſe they are *Numerous*; The *Greater* the *Number* is, the *greater* is the *Hazard*: And therefore becauſe they are *many already*, and will *encreaſe* if they be *ſuffer'd*, They are *not* to be *Tolerated*.

N. C. **But Men will be much more** *Peaceable* **when they are** *Indulged*, **then when they are** *Perſecuted*.

C. Now I am perſwaded, that the *Multitude* will be much quieter *without* a Power to do Miſchief, then *with* it. But what is your Opinion of the *Honeſty* of the Party?

N. C. **I do ſeriouſly believe the** *Non-Conformiſts* **to be an** *Honeſt, Conſcientious* **ſort of People.**

C. But they muſt be *Knaves*, to make Good Your Argument: for if they be *Honeſt*, They'l be *quiet without a Toleration*: If they be *Diſhoneſt*, They'l be *Dangerous with it*. Conſider again; If there be any *Hazard*, it lies not in the *Number*, but in the *Confederacy*. A *Million* of Men without *Agreement*, are but as *One Single Perſon*. Now They muſt *Conſult*, before they can *Agree*; and They muſt *Meet*, before they can *Conſult*. So that barely to hinder the *Aſſembling* of theſe Multitudes, fruſtrates the *Danger* of Them.

Them. Whereas, on the other ſide, *To Tolerate Separate Meetings, is to Countenance a Combination.*

N. C. **Miſtake me not; I do not ſay, 'tis likely they will be troubleſome, in Reſpect of their** *Temper*, **and** *Judgments*; **but that they are Conſiderable enough to be ſo, in Regard of their** *Quality* **and** *Number.*

C. Whether do you take to be the *Greater Number*; Thoſe that ſingly wiſh to be diſcharg'd from the *Act of Uniformety*; Or Thoſe that would have *no Law at all?* Thoſe that are troubled becauſe they may not *Worſhip* according to their *Fancy*: Or Thoſe that are diſpleaſed becauſe they cannot *Live*, and *Rule* according to their *Appetite?* The *Truytor* would have *One Law* diſcharg'd: The *Schiſmatick*, *Another*: The *Idolater*, a *Third*: The *Sacrilegious* Perſon, a *Fourth*: The *Profane Swearer*, a *Fifth*: The *Falſe Swearer*, a *Sixth*: The *Murderer*, a *Seventh*: The *Seducer*, an *Eighth*: And in fine; Not *One* of a *Thouſand*, but had rather *Command*, then *Obey.* Shall the King therefore diſſolve the *Law*, becauſe there are ſo many *Criminals?* That were to raiſe an Argument *againſt Authority*, from the very *Reaſon*

of

of its *Conſtitution.* Shall the People be left to do what they *liſt*, becauſe a World of them have a Mind to do what they *ſhould not?* Shall his Majeſty give up his *Government*, for fear of ſome *Millions* (perchance) in his Dominions, that had rather be *Kings*, then *Subjects?* Leſs forcible, beyond Queſtion, is the Neceſſity of the King's *Granting* a *Toleration*, (if you reckon upon *Numbers*) then That of *Renouncing* his *Sovereignty.* For doubtleſs, where there is *One Man* that is truly *Scrupulous*, there are *hundreds* of *Avaricious*, *Ambitious*, and otherwiſe *Irreligious Perſons.*

N. C. **Tell me, I beſeech you; Do not you believe that there are** *more Non-Conformiſts* **now, then there were at the beginning of the Late War?**

C. Yes, I do verily believe, *Three to One.*

N. C. **Why then 'tis at leaſt** *Three* **to** *One* **againſt You: For at That time, the Third Part of This Number was the Predominant Intereſt of the Nation.**

C. That does not follow; for you may remember, that at the beginning of the late War, The Party were Maſters of the Tower, The Navy, of all Conſiderable Forts,

Forts, Towns, and Magazins: They had a great part of the Crown and Church Revenues under their Command, and *London* at their Beck: Beſide the Plunder of Malignants, and the Bountiful Contributions of the Well-affected. *Scotland* was already Confederate with them in *One Rebellion*; and they had made ſure of *Another* in *Ireland* (by Perſecuting the Earl of *Strafford*, who was the only Perſon Capable of Keeping them Quiet.) Which they further aſſiſted, by a Groſs Oppoſition of his Majeſties Propoſals, and Reſolutions to ſuppreſs it. [*See the King's Speech of Decemb.* 14. 1641. *and the following Petition concerning the ſame.*] Ex. Coll. p. 2. 3. Finally, for the better Countenance of their Uſurpations, *the Houſe of Commons* was drawn down into *a Cloſe Committee*, and the Votes of that *Junto* were Impos'd upon the Nation as the Acts of a Regular, and Complete *Authority*. This was their Condition *formerly*; but bleſſed be God, it is not ſo *at preſent*.

The Three Kingdoms are now at Peace; and we have a Parliament that is no Friend to the Faction. The King is Poſſeſt of a Conſiderable Guard, which his Royal Father wanted. The Militia is in ſafe Hands. His Majeſty is likewiſe poſ-

ſeſt

ſeſt of his Regal Power, and Revenue: And his Capital City firm in its Obedience: To all which may be added, that although divers Particulars are as Wealthy as Pillage, and Pardon, can make them; Yet They want a *Common Stock* to carry on a *Common Cauſe*. The *Thimbles*, and the *Bodkins* fail; and the Comfortable In-comes of (*a*) *Iriſh Adventures*; (*b*) *Moneys* and *Plate* upon the *Propoſitions*; (*c*) *Confiſcated Eſtates*; (*d*) *Twentieth Parts*; and (*e*) *Weekly Aſſeſſments*; and a hundred other Pecuniary Stratagems are departed from them.

a Ex. Coll. p. 84.
b P. 339.
c p. 609.
d p. 764.
e p. 392.

If it be ſo, that theſe People have None of theſe Advantages now remaining, by virtue whereof, they did ſo much Miſchief before; What *Neceſſity* of *Tolerating* for fear of *Diſobliging* Them?

N. C. **However; It is not for your credit, to ſay, theſe People want** *Conduct*, **by whom your ſelves have been worſted.**

C. The Men that worſted us, were a ſort of People, that Voted down Biſhops on the wrong ſide of the Parliament-houſe Door; That cry'd, *They would have no more Porter's Lodge at Whitehall*; and told his Sacred Majeſty in a Publique Declaration [*Auguſt* 8. 42.] that *The Pretence that his Perſon was there in Danger*,

Ex. Coll. p. 533.

p. 494.

Danger, was a Suggestion as false as the Father of Lies could invent.— That Seiz'd the Tower, The Navy, The King's Towns, Forts, Magazins, Friends, and Revenues; That Levy'd War against, and Imprison'd his Sacred Person; Usurped his Sovereign Authority; Imbrued their Hands in his Royal Blood; and in the very Pulpit, animated, and avowed the Unexampled Murder.

If *These* be the People which you plead for, under the Notion of *Non-Conformists*, never trouble your selves to go *Nine Mile* about, for a *Toleration*: But *come roundly up to the Point, and desire his Majesty to deliver up his Crown.* If it be Otherwise, You have overshot your self in your Challenge; and it does not appear, that You are the *Numerous, Politick*, and *United Party* we took you for. If the *Non-Conformists were* the Principal *Conducters* in that Design, they are not *honest* enough to be *trusted*; and *I see no Reason of State, to Dispose the King to Gratifie the Murderers of his Father.* If They were *not* so, it was none of *Their Conduct* that did the Work.

N. C. If *Societies*, and *Professions*, shall be made answerable for the Failings of *Particulars*, All *Communities*, and *Fellowships*

lowships will be found blameable alike; for there is no *Order*, or *Way*, without *Corrupt Pretenders* to't: And it is not enough to say, there were *Non-Conformists* in the *Party*; unless you probe, that what those *Non-Conformists* did, was acted upon a Principle, *Common* to *Dissenters*; and that they did it, as *Non-Conformists*.

C. This is a *Defence*, instead of an *Answer*; as if I had now charg'd the *Combination* upon the *Non-Conformists*, when I only ask, if they were the *Managers* of it, or No? *This*, you neither *Confess*, nor *Deny*; And there let it rest: Since the *Dilemma* lies indifferently against you, whether they were, or not, (as does already appear) Touching the *Unity* you boast of, (I must confess) it is as eminent against your *Superiours*, as your *Disagreements* are among your *selves*. And take all together, I see Nothing made out as yet, to prove, that the Kingdom is likely to be either the *Better* for *Granting* a *Toleration*, or the *Worse* for *Refusing* it. Moreover, We are not unacquainted with your *false Musters*. *Nine Presbyteries*, of *Fifty*, made up One of your *General Assemblies*. And upon the *Conference* at *Hampton-*

Spotswood. Hist. *Scotl.* p. 487.

Hampton-Court, in 1604. *of above* Nine Thouſand *Miniſters, there were but* Forty Nine *upon the Roll, that ſtood out, and were depoſed: Such a Noiſe* (ſays *Spotſwood*) *will a few Diſturbers cauſe, in any Society where they are Tolerated.* But what if a Man ſhould allow the *Non-Conformiſts* to be as valuable as you repreſent them? It is but a kind of *Pagan* Argument, to urge the Worſhipping of Them (as the *Indians* do the *Devil*) for fear they ſhould hurt us. Ibid. p 479

N. C. **They that have a Power to do** *Hurt*, **have commonly a Power to do** *Good*; **And no doubt of it, the** *Non-Conformiſts*, **under the Obligation of an** *Indulgence*, **would ſhew themſelves as ſerviceable to the Common Good, as any ſort of People whatſoever.**

C. What they *will* do, is uncertain; What They *have* done, is upon Record, in Characters of Blood. Give me but One Inſtance, even ſince the Reformation, where *England*, or *Scotland* was ever the better for Them (any otherwiſe, then by God's Extraordinary Working of Good out of Evil, and Take the Cauſe. B

N. C. **I would it were put upon that Iſſue.**

SECT. VIII.

The Non-Conformists Plea for Toleration, from the MERITS of the Party.

C. WHat has your Party *Merited* from the Publique, that an Exception to a General Rule should be Granted in your Favour?

N. C. **Many of Us ventur'd All, to save the Life of the late King.**

C. And yet ye ventur'd more to take it away: For ye did but *Talk* for the *One*; and ye *Fought* for the *Other*.

N. C. **We ever abominated the Thought of Murdering him.**

C. You should have abominated the Money too, for Which ye sold Him.

N. C. **Who sold Him?**

C. The *Presbyterians* sold Him; and the *Independents* were the *Purchasers*.

N. C. **Did not the** *Presbyterians* **Vote His Majesties** *Concessions* **a Ground for a** *Treaty?*

C. Yes; but it was upon Conditions, worse then Death it self. They deliver'd Him up too, when they might have preserved

ſerved him: And they ſtickled for Him, when they knew they could do Him no Good.

N. C. **What End could they have in That?**

C. The very ſame End in —48, which they had in —41: To make a Party by it, and ſet up a *Presbyterian Intereſt* in the *King's Name.*

N. C. **All the World knows, that We were ſo much afflicted for his Sacred Majeſties Diſtreſs, that We had many Solemn days of *Humiliation* for it.**

C. So ye had for his *Succeſſes* (when Time was) for fear he ſhould get the Better of Ye: And you had your days of *Thanksgiving* too, for his Diſaſters.

N. C. **Pray'e let me ask You One Queſtion now: *Who brought in this King?***

C. They that would not ſuffer You to keep him out: That Party, which, by a Reſtleſs, and Inceſſant Loyalty, hindred your Eſtabliſhment.

N. C. **And what do you think of the *Secluded Members?***

C. We'l ſpeak to that Point in another Place. But can you tell me What was the Ground of the Quarrel? I ſuppoſe I

need not tell you What was the Event of it.

N. C. Religion, and *Liberty*.

C. Of Which Side were the *Tender Consciences? For* the King; Or *Against* Him?

N. C. We were ever *for* the King; Witness our *Petitions*, *Declarations*, and, in a most Signal manner, Our *Solemn League and Covenant*.

C. Now I thought you had been *against* Him: because You took away his *Revenue*, *Authority*, and *Life*: Unless you mean that you were *For* Him in your *Words*, as you were *Against* Him in your *Actions*.

N. C. There were many of Us, that lob'd the King as well as any of those *about Him*.

C. According to the *Covenant* (That is.) And does not your Party love *This King*, as well as they did the *Last*? I do not think but you love the *Bishops* too.

N. C. Truly when they are out of their *Fooleries*, I have no Quarrel to the *Men*. But what makes you couple the *Crown*, and the *Mitre* still? As if no Man could be a *Good Subject*, that is disaffected to *Prelacy*.

C. Why truly, I think you can hardly shew

shew me any *One Non-Conformist* that ever struck Stroke for the *King*; Or any true Son of the *Episcopal Order* of the Church, that ever bore Arms *against* Him.

N. C. **Are not you your self satisfied, that even** *Cromwel Himself*, **and divers of his** *Principal Officers*, **when the late King was at** *Hampton-Court*, **had Deliberations, and Intentions to** *Save* **Him? and that there were** *Thousands* **in the** *Army*, **that had no** *Unkindness* **for his** *Majesty?*

C. I do absolutely believe, both the *One*, and the *Other*; and that the *Folly*, and *Heedlessness* of the *Common-Souldier* contributed, in a High Measure, to the *General Fate:* Nay, that his Late Majesty was oppress'd, even by those, that thought they fought *for* him, before they understood what they did. But yet let me Commend to your Observation, that these relenting *Intervals* in the *Heads* of the *Army*, did manifestly *Vary*, according to the Pulse of their *Affairs*. Which evinces, that it was a *Deliberation*, upon the matter of *Convenience*, rather then upon a Point of *Conscience*. But thus far however we are agreed; That *many* of the *Non-Conformists* were *engaged*; Whether upon *Ignorance*, *Interest*, or

Faction, take your Choice. That is to ſay, upon Which of Theſe Three you will found the *Merits* of your *Party*.

We are next to Enquire, How far your *Principles*, and *Actions*, will comport with the *Duties* of *Society*, and the *Ends* of *Government*.

SECT. IX.

The Non-Conformiſts Plea *for* Toleration, *from the* Innocence, *and* Modeſty *of their* OPINIONS *and* PRACTISES.

6 *C.* IN the Queſtion of *Government*, and *Obedience*, there are many Points, wherein the *Non-Conformiſts* agree: Many more, wherein they *differ*: and not a few, wherein they are altogether *Fluctuant*, and *Uncertain*. We have Nothing to do (in this Place) with their *Diſagreements*, or *Uncertainties*; ſave only in thoſe Matters wherein they are United by *Common Conſent*: And to Determine what Thoſe are, will be a New Difficulty; Unleſs you tell Us before-hand, What *Authorities* we may depend upon. Your *Principles*

Principles must be *Known*, or they cannot be *Examined*. Wherefore, Pray'e Direct us Where we may find them.

N. C. **Why truly in the *History* of the *Reformation*: for This Controversie has been on foot from the very beginning of it, to this Day.**

C. If you speak of the *Reformation beyond the Seas*, I do not find any thing there, that comes neer our Purpose. Here is, first, Pretended, a *Reformation* of a *Reformation*; Secondly, A *Conjunction* of *Several Parties*, and *Perswasions*, at utter *Enmity* One with Another, in a *Confederacy* against the Order of the *Government*: Whereas in the Great Turn of Affairs *Abroad*, I see little more then a *Defection* from the Church of *Rome*; and People setling themselves in some *other way*, as well as they could. *Muncer*'s Party in *Germany*, had (I confess) some Resemblance of the Tumults here in *England*, that usher'd in the late War; both for the *Medly*, and for the *Rabble*. In *Scotland* indeed, there was a Contest, for the *Reforming* of a *Reformation*; and it went high. But it was only a Struggle, for the *Geneva-Discipline*: Which Humour was brought over to *Us* too, and driven on, for a while, under Q. *Elizabeth*, with

with much *Contumacy*, and *Bitterness*. But our Case (in short) was never known in the *Christian* World, till the late Troubles; and thither it is, that we must resort for satisfaction to our present Enquiry. Now whether you'l be tried by the *Declarations*, *Votes*, *Orders*, and *Ordinances* of that Pretended *Parliament* that carry'd on the Quarrel; Or by the Undeniable *Doctrines*, and *Positions* of your own *Divines*; (and those the very *Idols* of your *Party*) is left at your Election.

N. C. **As for the** *Parliament*, **let them answer for themselves: We had no hand in their Proceedings. And for our** *Ministers*, **They were but** *Men*, **and may have their Failings as well as other People. If you would know our** *Principles*; *We are for Worshipping according to the* **Light** *of Our* **Consciences,** *for Obeying God* **rather then** *Man*; **and for yielding all** *due Obedience* **to the** *Civil Magistrate.*

C. All This comes to Nothing. For you may make that *Light* what you please; and Qualifie that *due Obedience* as you list. What does all this Evasion, and Obscurity signifie; but that there is somewhat in the bottom, more then you are willing to own?

There

There are a ſort of People, that tell us, *The* War *raiſed in* —41, *in the Name of* King and Parliament, *was* Lawful. And *That the* Soveraignty *was lodg'd in the* Two Houſes, (Nay in the *People*) *in Caſe of* Neceſſity. *That* Kings *are but the* Peoples Truſtees; *Their* Power, Fiduciary; *and the* Duty *of* Subjects *only* Conditional. *That* Princes *may be* Depos'd; *Nay, and put to* Death, *in Caſe of* Tyranny: And *That their* Perſons *may be* Reſiſted, *but not their* Authority. That *the* King *is* Singulis Major, Univerſis Minor: And that *the* People *may Enter into* Covenant, *for the* Reformation *of* Religion, without *the* Conſent *of the* Chief Magiſtrate; *nay*, againſt *his* Authority; *and Propagate* Religion *by the* Sword. *They make their* Appeals, *from the* Literal *Conſtruction of* Law, *to the* Equitable; *from the* Law Written, *to the* Law *of* Nature, *and* Neceſſity.

A Man might ply You with freſh Inſtances upon this Subject, till to morrow morning; But here we'l ſtop: And pray'e ſpeak your Opinion now, of Granting a *Toleration*, to a *Party* that *Profeſſes*, and *Teaches*, *Theſe Principles*; and *Acts* accordingly.

N. C. What is all This to the *Non-Conformiſts?*

Conformiſts? **Who are already come to an** *Agreement*; **that,** *In the Queſtion of* **Toleration,** *The Foundation of* **Faith, Good Life,** *and* **Government,** *is to be* **Secured.**

C. Very Good. So that what *Party* ſoever ſhall be found Guilty of the *Poſitions* aforeſaid, and of *Actions* anſwerable thereunto, cannot reaſonably pretend to a *Toleration*, from *the Innocency of their Opinions and Practiſes.* Now to *Particulars.*

The POSITIONS *of Divers Eminent* Non-Conformiſts.

I. The *War* raiſed by the *TWO HOUSES* in the Name of *King and Parliament*, 1641. *was Lawful.*

Mr. *Baxter's* Holy Commonwealth. Printed 1659.

[*I cannot ſee, that I was miſtaken in the* main Cauſe, *Nor dare I repent of it, Nor forbear the ſame, if it were to do again, in the ſame State of Things.*—— *And my Judgment tells me, That if I ſhould do otherwiſe, I ſhould be guilty of* Treaſon, *Or* Diſloyalty, *againſt the* Soveraign Power of the Land. *Pag.* 486.

A King, *abuſing his* Power, *to the Overthrow of* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *may be* Controuled, *and* Oppoſed. *This may ſerve to* juſtifie *the Proceedings of this Kingdom againſt the* Late King, *who in a Hoſtile way ſet himſelf to overthrow* Religion, Parliaments, Laws, *and* Liberties. *P.* 10. *Robert Douglaſs his Serm. Preach't at Scoone, Jan.* 1. 1651. Printed 1660.

The Righteouſneſs *of the* Parliament's Cauſe, *is as clear, as the Sun at Noonday. And, like* the Law of God *it ſelf, in Theſe Excellent Qualifications of it; That It is* Holy, Juſt, *and* Good. *P.* 6. *J. Goodwin's* Anti-Cavaleriſm.

II. The *Lords, and Commons* are the *Supreme Power*; Nay the *People*, in Caſe of *Neceſſity*.

Parliaments *may judge of* Publique Neceſſity, *without the* King; *(If deſerted by the* King) *and are to be accompted, by Virtue of* Repreſentation, *as* the Whole Body of the State. *P.* 45. The Obſervator.

Whenſoever a King, *or* other Superior Authority, *creates an* Inferior; *They Inveſt it with a Legitimacy of* Magiſtratical Power *to* Puniſh Themſelves *alſo, in Caſe they prove* Evil-doers. *P.* 7. Right and Might well met, *Anno* 1648.

England *is a* mixt Monarchy, *and Governed by the* Major Part *of the* Three Eſtates Parliament-Phyſick.

Eſtates *Aſſembled in* Parliament. *P.* 111.

Ahab's Fall.

The Houſes *are not only requiſite to the Acting of the Power of making Laws; but* Co-ordinate *with his* Majeſty, *in the very Power of Acting. P.* 42.

Intereſt of *England* in the matter of Religion. 1660.

When as a Part *of the* Legiſlative Power *reſides in the* Two Houſes; *as alſo a Power to redreſs* Grievances, *and to call into* Queſtion *all* Miniſters of State, *and* Juſtice, *and* all Subjects, *of whatſoever Degree, in Caſe of* Delinquency; *It may be thought, that a* Part *of the* Supreme Power *doth reſide in* Them, *though they have not the* Honorary Title: *And* This Part *of the* Supreme Power, *is indeed Capable of doing* Wrong: *Yet how it might be guilty of* Rebellion, *is more Difficult to conceive. P.* 49.

The Peoples Cauſe ſtated. *An.* 1662.

The Delegates *of the* People, *in the Houſe of* Commons, *and the* Commiſſioners *on the* King's *behalf, in the Houſe of* Peers, *concurring*; *do* very far bind *the* King, *if not* wholly. *P.* 112. *And when Theſe cannot agree, but* break, *One from Another, the* Commons *in Parliament aſſembled, are* Ex Officio, The Keepers of the Liberties of the Nation, *and Righteous* Poſſeſſors, *and* Defenders *of it, againſt all* Uſurpers, *and* Uſurpations *Whatſoever. P.* 130.

III.

III. *KINGS* are but the *Peoples TRUSTEES*; Their *Power*, *Fiduciary*; and the *Duty* of *Subjects*, *Conditional*.

[*The* King, *is but the* Servant *of the* People; *and his Royalty is only a Virtual Emanation from them*; *and in Them*, radically, *as in the* firſt Subject.] *So* Rutherford, Parker, Goodwin, Bridges, Milton, *&c.*

The People *can give* no other Power, *then ſuch as* God *has given* Them: *And* God *has never given a* moral Power *to do* Evil. *All* Fiduciary Power, abuſed, *may be* repealed; *And* Parliamentary Power *is* no Other: *Which, if it be* abuſed, *The* People *may* repeal *it*; *and* reſiſt *them*; Annulling *their* Commiſſions; Reſcinding *their* Acts; *and* Denuding *Them of their* Fiduciary Power: *Even as the* King Himſelf *may be* denuded *of the* ſame Power *by the* Three Eſtates. *P.* 152. *Lex Rex.* *An.* 1644.

Princes *derive their* Power, *and* Prerogative *from the* People; *and have their* Inveſtitures, *meerly for the* Peoples Benefit. *P.* 1. *Jus Populi* 1644.

It is the King's Duty *to paſs all ſuch* Laws, *as* Both Houſes *ſhall judge* Good *for* Declarat. touching the 4 Bills *March* 13. 1647.

for the Kingdom: *Upon a Suppoſition, That They are Good, Which by them are judg'd Such.*

Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos. Printed 1648.

If the Prince *fail in his* Promiſe, *the* People *are Exempt frm their* Obedience; *The* Contract *is made* Void, *and the Right of* Obligation *is of* no Force.——*It is therefore permitted to the* Officers *of a Kingdom, either* All, *or ſome good* Number *of them, to* Suppreſs *a* Tyrant. *P.* 120, 121.

IV. *Princes* may be *DEPOSED*, and put to *DEATH*, in Caſe of *Tyranny.*

Tenure of Kings. 1649.

Every Worthy Man, *in* Parliament, *may, for the* Publique Good, *be thought a fit* Peer, *and* Judge *of the* King. *P.* 24.

Goodwin's Defence of the King's Sentence.

Where there is no Opportunity *for the Interpoſure of* Other Judges, *the* Law *of* Nature, *and the* Law *of* Nations *allow* Every Man *to* Judge *in his* own Caſe. *P.* 34.

Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

If a Prince wants ſuch Underſtanding, Goodneſs, *or* Power, *as the People judge Neceſſary to the Ends of* Government; *In the* firſt *place*; *He is Capable of the* Name, *but not of the* Government. *In the* Second; *He* Depoſes Himſelf. *In the*

the Third; *The want of* Power, Depoſes *him. Theſes* 135, 136, 137.

It is lawful for any, *who have the* Power, *to call to* Accompt, *a* Tyrant, *or Wicked King*; *And after due* Conviction, *to* Depoſe, *and put him to* Death, *if the* Ordinary Magiſtrate *have* Neglected, *or* Deny'd *to do it.* Tenure of Kings. 1649.

It is not impoſſible, for a King, Regis Perſonam Exuere; *In a* Natural, *Or* MORAL Madneſs *or Frenzy to turn* Tyrant, *Yea* Beaſt, *Waiving his Royal Place*, Violently, Extrajudicially, Extramagiſterially *to* aſſault *his* Subjects, *as* Saul *did* David. *In this Caſe*, *Men think* Nature *doth* Dictate *it*; *and* Scripture *doth* Juſtifie *a* Man, *Se Defendendo Vim Vi repellere. P.* 23. A Survey of the Grand Caſe. Printed 1663.

The Real Soveraignty *among* Us, *was in* King, Lords, *and* Commons; *and if the* King *raiſe War againſt ſuch a* Parliament: *The* King *may not only be* reſiſted, *but Ceaſeth to be a* King. *Theſis* 358. Mr. Baxter's Holy Commonwealth.

The Lord rent the Kingdom *from* Saul, *for ſparing* One Agag; *and for want of* thorough Extirpation *of all the accurſed Things, He loſt both Thanks for What He had done, and Kingdom alſo. P.* 27. Mr. *Faircloth* before the Commons.

Let no Law hinder *Ye*: *If* Law *be to be* broken, *it is for a* Crown; *and there-* Mr. *Sympſon.*

fore, for Religion.—— *Ye are ſet over Kingdoms, to Root out, Pull down, Deſtroy, and Throw down: Do it quickly; Do it thoroughly.*

Scripture and Reaſon for Defenſive Arms. 1643.

By what Rule of Conſcience, *or* God, *is a State Bound to Sacrifice* Religion, Laws, *and* Liberties, *rather then endure, that the* Princes Life *ſhould come into any Poſſibilities of* Hazard, *by Defending them, againſt thoſe that in his Name are bent to ſubdue them?* If he will needs thruſt Himſelf upon the Hazard, when he needs not, Whoſe Fault is That?

Engliſh Tranſlation of the *Scots* Declaration.

There never was a Greater Harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reaſon, Prudence, *and* Neceſſity, *to Warrant any Act, then may be found, and diſcern'd in that Act of* Juſtice *on the* Late King. *P.* 18.

Defence of the King's Sentence. *Jo. Goodwin.*

Touching the Righteouſneſs of the Sentence *paſt upon the* King; *Doubtleſs never was any Perſon under Heaven, Sentenc'd with* Death, *upon more* Equitable, *and* Juſt *Grounds. P.* 90.

The Policy of Princes.

Praiſed be God, Who hath delivered us from the Impoſitions of Prelatical Innovations, Altar-Genu-flections, *and* Crin-gings, *with* Croſſings, *and* All That Popiſh Traſh and Trumpery. *And truly (I ſpeak no more then what I have often thought, and ſaid)* **The Removal of thoſe**

Inſup-

Insupportable Burdens, countervails for the Blood and Treasure shed and spent in these late Distractions. *Nor did I ever as yet hear of any Godly Men that desired, Were it Possible, to Purchase their Friends, or Money again, at so dear a Rate, as with the Return of These: To have Those Soul-Burdening,* Antichristian *Yokes re-imposed upon Us. And if any such there be, I am sure, that Desire is no part of their Godliness; and I profess my self, in That, to be None of the Number. P.* 23.

V. The *PERSONS* of *Princes* may be *resisted*, though not their *AUTHORITY.*

The Man *who is* King, *may be* resisted, *but not the* Royal Office: *The* King *in* Concreto, *but not the* King *in* Abstracto. *P.* 265. [*He may be* resisted *in a Pitch't* Battel, *and with* Swords, *and* Guns. 324. *That is*; *His* Private Will *may be* resisted, *not his* Legal Will. 269. *Neither is He in the Field, as a* King, *but as an unjust* Invader, *and* Grassator. 334. *If He chance to be* Slain, *'Tis but an* Accident; *and who can help it?* 324. *He is guilty of his own Death; Or let Them* *Lex Rex.* A

answer for't that brought Him thither, The Contrary Party *is* Innocent. 273.]

Mr. *War's* Analysis of the Covenant. *English* Translation. B

The King's Authority *is with the* Two Houses, *though the* Person *of* Charles Stuart *be not there.*

His Capacity *was at* Westminster, *when his* Body *was upon the* Scaffold *at* Whitehall, *&c. P.* 18.

VI. The *King* is *SINGULIS MAJOR, UNIVERSIS MINOR.*

Lex Rex.

The King *is in* Dignity Inferior *to the* People. *P.* 140. *The* Soveraign Power *is* Eminently; Fontaliter; Originally, *and* Radically *in the* People. 156.

De Monarchiâ Absolutâ.

Detrahere Indigno Magistratum etsi Privati *non Debeant,* Populus *tamen* Universus *quin possit, Nemo, Opinor, dubitabit. It is not for* Private *Persons to Depose a Wicked Governour: But that the* Universality *of the* People *may Lawfully do it, I think no Body questions. Fixum Ratúmque habeatur,* Populi *semper esse debere* Supremam Majestatem. *P.* 9.

VII. The

VII. The *People* may enter into a *Covenant* for *Reformation*, without the *Consent* of the *Chief Magistrate*.

There is much Sin *in* making *a* Covenant *on* Sinful Grounds, *and there is* more Sin *in* Keeping it; *But when the* Preservation *of true* Religion, *and the* Vindication *of* Juſt Liberties *meet in the* Ground, *Ye may* Swear, *and not* Repent; *Yea, if Ye* Swear, *Ye muſt* not Repent. *P.* 18. *Not only is* That Covenant *which* God *hath made with* Us, *founded in the* Blood of Chriſt; *but* That *alſo*, *which* We *make with* God. *P.* 33. Mr. *Caryl* at Taking the Covenant. 1643.

The Breach of the National Covenant *is a Greater Sin, then a Sin againſt a* Commandment, *or againſt an* Ordinance. 158. —*A Sin of ſo high a Nature, that God cannot in Honour but be avenged upon't.* 159. The Phœnix. *E.C.*

VIII. *RELIGION* may be *Propagated* by the *SWORD*.

The Queſtion in England *is*, *Whether* Chriſt, *or* Anti-Chriſt, *ſhall be* Lord, *or* King? *Go on therefore Couragiouſly*: Ne- Marſhall's Sacred Panegyrique.

ver can ye lay out your Blood in such a Quarrel. Christ *shed all his* Blood *to save* You *from* Hell. *Venture All* Yours, *to set* Him *upon his* Throne *P.* 23.

Mr. *Case* before the Commons. 1644

Cursed be he that withholdeth his Sword *from* Blood; *that* spares, *when God saith* Strike; *that suffers those to* escape, *whom God has appointed to* Destruction. *P.* 24.

Mr. *Calamy's* speech at *Guildhall.* 1643.

In the 10 *of* Numbers, *you shall read that* there were Two Silver Trumpets; *and as there were* Priests *appointed for the* Convocation of their Assemblies, *so there were* Priests *to sound the* Silver Trumpets *to Proclaim the* War. *And likewise in the* 20 *of* Deuteronomy, *you shall find there, that when the Children of* Israel *would go out to War*, the Sons of Levi (*one of the* Priests) *was to make a* Speech *to Encourage them. And certainly, if this were the Way of God in the* Old Testament; *certainly, much more in such a* Cause *as* This, *in which Cause*, Religion *is so entwin'd, and indeed so enterlac'd, that* Religion, *and* This Cause, *are like* Hippocrates *his* Twins, *they must* live, *and* dye together.

Mr. *Calamy's* Nobleman's Pattern. 1643.

You have vowed in This Covenant *to Assist the Forces raised by the* Parliament, *according to your Power, and Vocation; and not to Assist the Forces raised by the* King,

King, *neither Directly, nor Indirectly.* P. 45. *Now let me exhort you, not only to chuſe to ſerve God, and to ſerve his Church, and his Cauſe, in this moſt Juſt Defenſive War, &c.* 46.

In vain ſhall you in your Faſts, *with* Joſua, *ly on your* Faces, *unleſs you lay your* Achans *on their* Backs; *In vain are the High Praiſes of God in your Mouthes,* without a Two-edged Sword in your Hands. *P.* 31. Mr. *Herle* before the Houſe of Lords. 1643.

The Execution of Judgment is the Lords Work, and they ſhall be Curſed that do it Negligently; *and* Curſed ſhall they be that keep back their Sword from Blood in this Cauſe. *You know the Story of Gods Meſſage unto* Ahab, *for letting* Benhadad *go upon Compoſition.* P. 26. Mr. *Strickland* on a Thankſgiving. 1644.

Whenſoever you ſhall behold the hand of God, in the Fall of Babylon, *ſay*; *True; Here is a* Babyloniſh Prieſt *crying out,* Alas! Alas! My Living; I have Wife and Children to Maintein. *I: but all this is to perform the Judgment of the Lord.* P. 30. *Though as* Little Ones, *they call for* Pitty, *yet as* Babyloniſh, *they call for Juſtice, even to* Blood. M. *Bridges* on *Revel.* 4. 8.

IX. There lies an *Appeal* from the *Letter* of the *Law*, to the *EQUITY* of it: And from the *Law Written*, to the *Law* of *NATURE*.

Ex. Coll. P. 150. An. 1642. *The* Commander *going against the* EQUITY *of the* Law, *gives* Liberty *to the* Commanded, *to refuse* Obedience *to the* Letter *of it.*

Lex Rex. *There is a Court of* Neceſſity, *no leſs then a Court of* Juſtice; *and the* Fundamental Laws *muſt then ſpeak: and it is with a People, in this Extremity, as if they had* Ibid. *no Ruler. P.* 113. *The* People *have given the* Politique Power *to the* King; *and the* NATURAL Power *they Reſerve to* Themſelves. 151.

Right and Might. *All* Humane Laws *and Conſtitutions are made with Knees, to bend to the* Law *of* NATURE *and* NECESSITY. *P.* 85.

Here is more then enough ſaid already; and to go on as far as the Matter would carry us, there would be no End on't.

You are now at Liberty, either to *deny* Theſe to be the *Poſitions* of the *Non-Conformiſts*; or to *juſtifie* the *Poſitions* themſelves;

ſelves; or to lay down your *Plea* for *Toleration*, upon the *Innocency* of their *Principles*.

N. C. **I am no Friend to** *Theſe Poſitions*: **Neither can I yet quit my** *Claim*, **unleſs you make it out, that** *Theſe* **are the** *Principles* **of the** *Party*, **which I take to be only the** *Errours* **of** *Individuals*.

C. Shew me the *Party*, and let me alone to prove Theſe to be Their *Principles*. But if you will not acknowledge a *Party*, they are (as you ſay) but the *Errours* of *Individuals*; though all the *Non-Conformiſts* in the Three Kingdoms ſhould own them under their Hands.

You call your ſelves *Non-Conformiſts*, and ſo were they, that both began, and carried on the Late *War*. *Great Apprehenſions they had of the Deſigns of the Popiſh Party.* [So have you.] Mightily offended they were at *the Immoderate Power of the Biſhops.* [You again.] *Petitioners for the taking away ſuch Oppreſſions in* Religion, Church Government, *and* Diſcipline, *as had been brought in, and Fomented by them.* [Your very Picture ſtill.] *And for Uniting all ſuch together, as joyn in the ſame* Fundamental Truths *againſt the* Papiſts: *by removing ſome Oppreſſions,*

Ex. Coll. Pa 2.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Oppreſſions, and Unneceſſary Ceremonies, *by which, Divers weak Conſciences have been ſcrupled, and ſeem to be divided from the reſt.* [The very Platform of your Comprehenſion.] Thus far You march Hand in Hand: I need not tell you what followed upon't; but Your *Parts* are ſo much alike, that it looks as if We were now again upon *the firſt Scene of the ſame Tragedy.* For a Concluſion, *Conformity*, or *In-Conformity*, ſeem'd at firſt to be the Sum of the *Queſtion*; and the *Diſcipline* of the *Church* was made the *Ground* of the A *Quarrel.* The *Ruling Party* in the Pretended *Parliament*, were *Non-Conformiſts*; The *Army*, *Non-Conformiſts*; The Pretended *Aſſembly of Divines* were *Non Conformiſts*; The *City-Miniſters*, and *Lecturers*, *Non-Conformiſts*; And by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, every Man that took it, was to be a *Non-Conformiſt*, upon pain of *Damnation.* Now take Your Choice, (ſince *Non-Conformiſts* you are) Whether you'l Range your ſelves under the *Parliament*; Your *Army*; Your *Aſſembly*; Your *City-Miniſters*; Or Your *Solemn League and Covenant*: And let me bear the Blame, if I make it not as clear as the Day, That the *Principles* charg'd upon You, are the B *Principles* of Your *Party.* As

As to your *PRACTISES*, They haue been ſuitable to your *POSITIONS*; and All thoſe Violences have been Exerciſed upon the *Government*, that were firſt Dictated in the *Pulpit*. The *Lawfulneſs* of *Popular Inſurrections*; Of *Depoſing*, and Putting *Kings* to *Death*, under the Cloak of *Reformation*, has been vented as *the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt*, even by the *Oracles* of your *Cauſe*: Nay; and ſeveral of Them (at preſent) *Eager Aſſerters* of the *Equity* of a *Toleration*. And what has been the Fruit of Theſe *Unchriſtian-Lectures*; but the *Subverſion* both of *Church*, and *State*: And the *Murder* of a *Pious*, and *Gracious Prince*, under *Pretence* of *Doing God and the Kingdom Good Service*?

N. C. **Theſe are** *Actions* **(I confeſs) not to be warranted. But yet my Charity perſwades me, that a great part of the Miſchief they did, proceeded rather from** *Neceſſity*, **then** *Inclination*.

C. Will ye ſee then what they did afterward, when they were at *Liberty* to do what they liſted?

They had no ſooner Murdered the *Father*, but immediately (*a*) They made it *Death to Proclaim the Son*. (*b*) *They*

Scobell Act. &c. (*a*) Part 2. P. 3.

(b) P. 7. (b) *They abolish't Kingly Government.*
(c) P. 51. (c) *Sold the Crown-Lands.* (d) *Declared*
(d) P. 65. *it Treason to deny the Supremacy of the*
(e) P. 178. *Commons.* (e) *Nulled all Honours and*
Titles granted by the King since —41.
(f) P. 293. (f) *Made* Scotland *One* Commonwealth
with England, *&c.*

4 Have They now kept any better Touch with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the *Subjects?* Let their Proceedings Witness for Them; (a) As *their* Tax *upon the* Fifth *and* Twentieth Part. (b) Excise *upon Flesh, Victuals, and Salt.* (c) *A new Excise upon Allom, Copperas, Monmouth-Caps, Hops, Saffron, Starch, &c.* (d) *A* Loan *of* 66666 l. 13 s. 4 d. *for Supply of the* Scots. (e) *An* Assessment *for the Maintenance of the* Army. (f) *The House of* Peers Abolish't; *and a* Monethly Tax *of* 90000 l. *for the* Army. (g) *A* Monthly Tax *of* 120000 l. (h) *An* Imposition *upon Coal.* (i) *A* Monthly Assessment *of* 60000 l. Not to Clog the Discourse with over many Particulars: We'l see next, What They have Done, toward *the Moderating of the Power of Bishops, and the Removal of Unnecessary Ceremonies.* (k) *The Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury *Suspend d, and his Temporalties* Sequestred. (l) *Monuments of Superstition*

(a) Scobell Acts, &c. P 41.
(b) P. 60.
(c) P. 73.
(d) P. 75.
(e) P. 128.
(f) P. 8. Part 2.
(g) P. 149.
(h) P. 153.
(i) P. 400.
(k) P. 42.
(l) P. 53.

De-

Demoliſh't; (That is, in ſhort, an *Ordinance* for *Sacriledge*) (*m*) *The Book of* Common-Prayer *laid aſide, and the* Directory *Commanded inſtead of it.* (*n*) *Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops Aboliſh't, and their Lands ſettled in Truſtees.* (*o*) *Their Lands Expoſed to Sale.* (*p*) *Feſtivals Aboliſh't.* (*q*) *Deans and Chapters,* &c. *Aboliſh't: And their Lands to be Sold.*

(*m*) P. 75. (*n*) P. 99. (*o*) P. 101. (*p*) P. 128. (*q*) Part 2. P. 16.

This is Your Way, Of *MODERATING* the *Power* of *Biſhops*, and of *REMOVING UNNECESSARY CEREMONIES.* And This is the *Hiſtory* (in Little) of the *Opinions*, and *Practiſes* of your Party: Drawn from matter of *Fact*; Provable to a Syllable; and Deliver'd without any Amplification of the Matter.

N C. **All things have been done, there's no Queſtion on't; But they have been done by** *Ill Men*: **And 'tis not a** *Toleration* **of** *Faction* **that We pretend to, but a** *Toleration* **of** *Conſcience.*

C, Which *Tolcration* (upon farther ſearch) will be found to be a meer *Utopian Project*, or *Worſe.*

SECT.

SECT. X.

The Non-Conformiſts *demand a* Toleration, *which is neither* INTELLIGIBLE *in the* Whole, *nor* PRACTICABLE, *ſo far as it may be* Underſtood.

C. IT makes a great Noiſe in the World, The Out-cry of the *Non-Conformiſts*, for *Toleration*, *Indulgence*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, *Comprehenſion*, *&c.* Let them but ſet it down in a *Clear*, *Practicable*, and *Intelligible Propoſition*, and I dare ſay, They ſhall have it for the Asking.

Diſc. of Relig. Title pag.

N. C. **We do Propound**, *That Reformed Chriſtianity may be ſettled in its* DUE LATITUDE.

C. By *Reformed Chriſtianity*, I ſuppoſe you intend the *Proteſtant Religion*: But your *DUE LATITUDE* is of a *Suſpicious Intimation*. Do not you remember

Ex. Coll. p. 135.

a *Declaration* of the *Two Houſes* (*April* 9. 1642.) *for a DUE, and Neceſſary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the Church*: And *Nothing to*

be

be taken away, either in the One, or in the Other, but What ſhould be found Evil, and juſtly Offenſive; Or, at the leaſt, Unneceſſary, and Burdenſom? This *Due Reformation* ended (as you may remember) in a *Total Extirpation* of Both *Liturgy* and *Government*: And We ſee Nothing to the Contrary, but *Your DUE LATITUDE* may ſignifie the very ſame thing with *Their DUE REFORMATION*. Pray be a little Clearer.

N.C. **Then to put all out of doubt;** *I would, in the* **firſt** *place, have* **An Eſtabliſh't Order:** *Secondly;* **A Limited Toleration:** *Thirdly,* **A Diſcreet Connivence.** Diſc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 28.

The Parties Comprehended in the *Eſtabliſhment,* **to be of** *Importance in the Publique Intereſt;* **and** *of Principles Congruous to ſuch Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires.*

I Would have the *Toleration,* **to Extend to Thoſe that are of** *Sound Belief,* **and** *Good Life;* **Yet have taken in ſome** *Principles of Church-Government leſs Congruous to National Settlement.* Diſc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 38.

And for *Connivence;* **It is to be remitted to** *Diſcretion.*

C. What is all This now, but an *Univerſal*

versal Toleration, in a *Disguise*? *Some* to be *Comprehended* within the *Establishment*; *Others* to be *Tolerated*; And the *Rest* to be *Connived at*.

Again; Your *Establishment* is to be of a *Latitude*, to take in several sorts of *Dissenters*, under such and such *Qualifications*. They must be *of Importance in the Publique Interest*; and *of Principles Congruous to such Stated Order in the Church, as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*. Ask the *Dissenters Themselves* concerning their own *Qualifications*, and They'l tell you. that they are *all* of them, of *Important Interests*, and of *Congruous Principles*: So that this way, you are still upon an *Universal Toleration*. But on the *Other* Side, if You Consult *Authority* about Your *Comprehension*, The Preface to the Act for *Uniformity* will tell You, that the *Establishment* is *as wide already* as the *Peace* of the *Nation* will well *bear*. If you'l Acquiesce in *This Judgment*, the Case is determined to Our Hand: If you *Appeal* from it, You cast your selves out of the Pale of your own Project, because of your *Principles Incongruous to the Reason of Government*.

N. C. But it appears to us, that the *Stated Order* of the *Church* may be *widen'd*,

widen'd, without any Check to the *Stability* of *Government*.

C. And what will This avail You, if it appears *otherwiſe* to the *Governours Themſelves?* If *They* may be *Judges*, the *Strife* is at an *End*; but if you think to help your ſelves by Tranſlating the *Judgment* to the *People*; *After that Day, let us never expect any other* Law, *then the* Dictate *of the* Rabble. It removes the very *Foundations* of the *Government*, and Carries Us headlong into *Anarchy*, and *Confuſion*, without Redemption.

If a Man ſhould ask You now, about Your *Importance in Publique Intereſt*; *Firſt*; as to the *Intereſt* it ſelf, Whether you mean an *Intereſt* of Raiſing *Men*, and *Moneys*; Or *What Other? Next*; as to the *Degree*, and *Meaſure* of your *Importance*; How Many *Regiments* of the *One*, and How many *Millions* of the *Other*, makes up that *Importance?* Would you not take Time for an Anſwer?

And then, We are as much at a Loſs about Your [*Such Stated Order in the Church as the Stability of the Commonwealth requires*] You give Us No Satisfaction at all, *Wherein* the *Stability* of the Commonwealth conſiſts; Or *What Stated*

ted Order in the *Church* that ***Stability*** requires: But here is a kind of a *Moot-Point* caſt in, betwixt ***Authority***, and the *People*, *Which* of the Two ſhall *Determine*, upon That *Congruity*, and *Convenience*.

Your *Limited Toleration* too ſtands or falls upon the *Same Bottom*, with Your *Comprehenſion*: That is to ſay, Who ſhall *Judge* of the ***Sound Belief***, and *Good Life*, of the *Pretendents* to That ***Indulgence***.

As to your *Connivence*, You ſay Nothing of it your ſelf; and I ſhall Reflect as little upon it.

Let me only Obſerve Upon the Whole; that if you had really a Mind to ſet Us right, Methinks, You ſhould not Trifle Us with theſe *Ambiguities*, and *Amuſements*: But rather endeavour by ſome *Pertinent*, *Intelligible*, and *Practicable Propoſition*, to bring Us to a better Underſtanding. Say, *What Injunctions* You would have *abated*; *Name* the *Parties* You would Recommend for their *Importance of Intereſts*, *Congruity of Principles*, *Sound Faith*, and *Good Life*. Teach us how to *know* theſe *Qualities*, *Where* to *look* for Them, and *Who* ſhall *Judge* of Them. Let it be made out, That the Preſent *Sollicitors* for *Tender Conſciences*,

ſciences, are duly *Authorized*, and *Commiſſion'd* to Act as the *Truſtees* of the *Reſpective Parties*. Do This; and Matters may be brought yet to a Comfortable Iſſue: But ſo long as You place the *Conditions* of your *Indulgence* out of the *Reach* of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Knowledg*, Every Man that is *Excluded*, ſhall diſpute his Title to the *Comprehenſion*, without any Poſſibility of being Confuted; To the *Scandal* of *Religion*, and to the *Perpetual Trouble*, Both of *King*, and *People*.

N. C. To ſet forth the Propounded Latitude, in the Particular Limits thereof, were Preſumptuous, both in Reference to Superiors, and to the Party Concerned in it. Diſc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 22.

C. As if it were not a greater *Preſumption*, to *Alienate* the Affections of the *People* from their *Superiors*, by Reflectings upon the *Iniquity* of the *Government*, then by the Tender of ſome *Rational Medium* of *Accord*, to Diſpoſe the Hearts of *Superiors* to a Compliance with the *Prayers*, and *Neceſſities* of the *People*. But there is more in theſe *Generalities*, and *Reſerves* then the Multitude are well aware of; and I am afraid, it will be as hard a matter, to bring you to an *Agreement* about the *Particular Parties* to be *Tolerated*, as about the *Model* it ſelf.

SECT. XI.

The Non-Conformists *demand a* Toleration, *for No Body knows* WHOM, *or* WHAT.

C. THe *Non-Conformists* are the *Party* that desire a *Toleration*; Pray let me ask ye, What are their *Opinions?* What are their *Names?* For, I presume, you will not expect a *Toleration*, for *No Body knows What*, or *Whom*. Are they *all of a Mind?* If They were *Tolerated Themselves*, Would They *Tolerate One Another?* Are They come to any Resolution upon Articles? Are They agreed upon any *Model* of *Accommodation?* Do They know What They would be At? Or is it in the Wit of Man, to Contrive a *Common Expedient* to *Oblige* them?

N. C. **There's no Body says, that they** *are All of a Mind*; **Or that it is** *possible* **to** *please* **them** *all*; **Or** *Reasonable* **to** *Endeavour* **it. There are Divers among them, whose** *Principles* **will neber endure any** *Order* **either in** *Church*, **or** *State*. **But what is the** *Sober Part* **the**

the Worſe for theſe *Extravagants?* Thoſe, I mean, who are ready to Juſtifie themſelves; even according to the Strictneſs of your own Meaſures.

C. If You are for ſuch a *Toleration*, as ſhall *Exclude* the *Wild*, and *Ungovernable Sects of Diſſenters*; How comes it, that, in Your *Writings*, and *Argumentations*, You ſtill plead the *General Cauſe* of *Non-Conformiſts*, without any *Exception*, or *Diſtinction?*

N. C. You are not to faſten a Charge of this Quality upon *Us*; that have already ſubmitted Our ſelves, Not only to the *Moderation* of a *Limited Indulgence*, but to *your own Conditions* alſo, under that very *Limitation.*

C. This You have done, I muſt confeſs, in *General Terms*; But ſtill I ſay, as to *Particulars*, Your *Diſcourſes* are of ſuch a Frame and Biaſs, as to give *Credit*, and *Encouragement*, to *Every Sect* of the *Whole Party.*

N. C. I am of a Perſwaſion, *but not of a* Party: *and whatſoever my* Perſwaſion *be, it is* Moderate, Catholick, *and* Pacifick. D ſc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 45.

C. And ſo is every Man's, if his *own Word* may be taken for his *own Perſwaſion.* But why are ye ſo *Nice*, and *Cauti-*

ous, in the owning of a *Particular Way*, and *Profeſſion*; and yet ſo *Frank*, and *Open*, in a *Clamor* for the *Whole Party*? You Complain that you are *perſecuted*, and yet *Obſtruct* the Means of your own *Relief*. *Some*, Ye ſay, are to be *Indulged*; *Others*, *Not*. How ſhall *Authority Diſtinguiſh* of Which Number You your ſelves are; ſo long as You remain under this *Concealment*? Are You for the *Presbyterians*?

Diſc. of Relig Par. 2 P.45. *N. C. I am not aſhamed of their Company, that are Commonly called by* That Name: *Yet I have no Pleaſure in ſuch Names of Diſtinction. Neither my Deſign, nor my Principles, engage me to maintain the* Presbyterial Government.

C. Are You *Independent* then?

Diſc. of Relig. Par. 2. p. 38. *N. C.* Neither. But yet *I am* (as I told you) *for* Tolerating *Thoſe of* Sound Faith, *and* Good Life, *That have taken up ſome Principles of* Church-Government *leſs Congruous to* National Settlement.

C. What Do you think of the *Anabaptiſts*, *Browniſts*, *Quakers*, &c?

Ibid. *N. C.* Why truly, *So it is, That* Prudent, *and* Pious Men *may be of* Exceeding Narrow Principles, *about* Church-

Church-Order, *and* **Fellowship**: *Toward Whom*, **Christian Charity** *pleadeth for* **Indulgence**, *and, We hope,* **Political Prudence** *doth not gainsay it.*

C. So that you are *FOR All Parties*, but not *OF Any*. Which *Generality* gives to Understand, that *your Business*, is rather a *Confederacy*, then a *Scruple*.

N. C. **Make That Good if you can.**

SECT. XII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is not grounded Upon a Matter of* CONSCIENCE.

N. C. **YOu are the first Person certainly that ever undertook to make Proof of a** *Conscience.*

C. And yet Our Saviour tells Us, (in This very Case of *Hypocrisie*) that *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*: But however; the best way of Proving a Thing Feasible, is the Doing of it.

The *Non-Conformists* refuse Communion with the *Church*: What is it They boggle at?

(a) Disc. of Relig. Pars 2. (b) Peace Offering. (c) Indulg. & Toler. (d) Disc. of Relig. Pars 1. (e) Peace Offering. (f) Indul. & Toler.

N. C. ( ) *They do esteem the* **Ceremonies** *an Excess in the Worship of God.* Pag. 31. (b) [*And Dissent from the Present Establishment of Religion, only in things relating to* **Outward Order, and Worship**. Pa. 12 (c) *About the Choice of some Peculiar Ways of Worship.* Pa. 12. (d) *But as to the* **English Reformation, Established by Law,** *they heartily Embrace it, and Assent to the Doctrine of Faith conteined in the Articles of the Church of* **England.** Pa. 22 (e) *They have no* **New Faith** *to Declare: No* **New Doctrine** *to Teach; No* **Private Opinions** *to Divulge; No Point, or Truth to Professe, which hath not been Declared, Taught, Divulged, and Esteem'd, as the* **Common Doctrine** *of the* **Church** *of* **England,** *ever since the Reformation.* Pa. 11. (f) *They come up to a Full Agreement, in all* **Material** *Things, with Them, from Whom they Dissent.* Pa. 30.

C. If They *Agree* in all *Material* Things, it follows, that they *Divide* about Matters *Inconsiderable*; and Break the *Order*, *Peace*, and *Unity* of the Church for *Trifles.* (Things *Indifferent*, and relating to *Outward Order*, and *Worship.*)

N. C. In **Prescribed Forms**, *and*

Rites

Rites *of* Religion, *The* Conſcience *will interpoſe, and concern it ſelf; and Cannot reſign it ſelf to the* Dictates *of* Men, *in the Points of* Divine Worſhip. *And* Thoſe Injunctions, *which to the* Impoſers, *are* Indifferent; *in the* Conſciences *of the* Diſſenters, *are* Unlawful. *And What Humane Authority can warrant any One to put in Practice, an* Unlawful, *Or* Suſpected *Action?* Pa. 26. Diſc. of Relig. Pars. 6

C. If This be, really, *Conſcience*; You will be found as *Cautious* in venturing, deliberately, upon a *Suſpected* Action, in *all other Caſes*, as you are in *This*. But what if it ſhall appear, that This Fit of *Tenderneſs* only takes you, when you are to pay an *Obedience* to the Law; and that you are as *Bold* as *Lions*, when you come to *oppoſe* it? Will you not allow us to think it poſſible, that there may be ſomewhat more, in the *Importunities*, and *Pretences* of the *Non-Conformiſts*, then *Matter of* CONSCIENCE? A

'Tis a *Suſpected Action* to *Kneel* at the *Sacrament*; but *None*, to hold up your *Hands* at the *Covenant*. You make a *Conſcience* of diſclaiming the *Obligation* of *That Covenant*, in Order to the *Security* of the *Government*: But None at all, of *Leaguing* your ſelves in a *Conſpiracy*, for the

the *Subverſion of it*. Where was your *Tenderneſs*, in *Suſpected* Caſes, when, to Encourage *Rapine*, *Sacriledge*, and *Rebellion*, was the Common Buſineſs of your *Counſels*, and *Pulpits*? When it was *ſafer* to *Deny* the *Trinity*, then to *Refuſe* the *Covenant*. When the *ſame Perſons*, that ſtarted at a *Ceremony*, made no Scruple at all, of Engaging the Kingdom in *Blood*; and laying *Violent Hands* upon their *Sovereign*. Is not This, *Streining at a Gnat*, *and ſwallowing a Camel*?

Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1. *N. C. The* **Non-Conformiſts**, *I know, are charged with Principles, that detract from Kingly Power; and Tend to advance Popular Faction. It is true, They have been* **Eager Aſſerters** *of* **Legal Liberties**. Pag. 40. **But Theſe are Things gone and Paſt, and Nothing to our Preſent Purpoſe**. *The Wiſe Man ſays,* **He that repeateth a Matter, ſeparateth very Friends**. *A looking back to former Diſcords, mars the moſt hopeful Redintegration. Acts of* **Indemnity**, *are Acts of* **Oblivion** *alſo, and muſt be ſo obſerved.* Pa. 41.

Ibid.

C. The *Non-Conformiſts* (The Sole Actors in the late War) were only *Eager Aſſerters* (it ſeems) of *Legal Liberties.*:

berties: You do not deal ſo Gingerly with the *Biſhops*, in the Point of *Ceremonies*, as to let them come off, with the Character of *Eager Aſſertors* of *Legal Authorities*. So that herein alſo, *Your Conſciences ſtumble at Straws, and leap over Blocks.*

Now, Whereas You will have it, that a Reflection upon *former Diſcords*, is a Violation of the Act of *Indemnity*; And Impertinent to Our Purpoſe: My Anſwer is; *Firſt*, That I do not revive the Memory of *former Diſcords* as a *Reproach*; But I make uſe of ſome Inſtances out of former Paſſages, to make Good my Aſſertion: That Your *Conjunct Importunity* for a *Toleration*, is not grounded upon *Conſcience*. And to ſhew you, that your Practiſes, and Profeſſions grin One upon Another. For *Conſcience is all of a Piece*; Not *Tender*, and *Delicate* on the *One* ſide, and *Callous*, and *Unfeeling*, on the *Other*.

Secondly, Suppoſe We ſhould make a little Bold with the Act of *Oblivion*: I think We have as much right to do it, as You have to fall foul upon the Act of *Uniformity*. Unleſs you conceive, that the Mercy you have received by One Law, gives You a Privilege of Invading all

all the reſt. As to Authority; it is One and the Same in Both; and if there were any place for Complaint againſt the Equity of a Legal Eſtabliſhment, it would lie much Fairer againſt the Act of *Indemnity.* on the behalf of the *Royalliſts*, (that have ruined their Eſtates and Families in the Defence of the Law; and yet after all, are thereby condemned to ſit down in Silence, and Deſpair) Then againſt the Act of *Uniformity*, on the Behalf of the *Non-Conformiſts*: Who by the *One Law*, are ſecured in the Profits of their late *Diſobedience*; And by the *Other*, are taken into the Arms of the *Church*, according to the *Ancient*, and *Common Rule*, with the Reſt of His Majeſties *Proteſtant Subjects*: The Same Rule, I ſay; ſaving where it is Moderated with *Abatements*, and *Allowances*, in Favour of Pretended *Scruples.*

N. C. Whereas you make the *Non-Conformiſts* the *Sole Actors* in Our *late Confuſions*, You run your ſelf upon a great Miſtake: For——*It hath been manifeſted to the World, by ſuch as Undertook to Juſtifie it, when Authority ſhou'd require.* | That the Year before the King's Death, A Select Number of *Jeſuits* being ſent from their *whole Party*

Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1.

in

in England, Conſulted both the Faculty of *Sorbonne* and the Pope's Council at *Rome*, touching the *Lawfulneſs* and *Expediency*, of Promoting the Change of Government, *by bringing away the King*, Whom They Deſpaired to turn from his Hereſie: It was Debated, and Concluded, in *Both Places*, That for the Advancement of the *Catholick Cauſe*, It was *Lawful* and *Expedient* to Carry on that Alteration of State. This Determination was effectually purſued by many *Jeſuits*, that came over, and Acted their Parts in ſeveral Diſguiſes. Pag. 15.

C. If This be *True*, and *Proveable*; (as You affirm it is) You cannot do the *Proteſtant Cauſe* a more Important Service, then to make it out to the *Parliament*: *Who* (You know) *have judg'd the Matter Worthy of their Search, and have appointed a Committee to receive Informations.* Pa. 2. Nay, which is more, You are a Betrayer of the Cauſe if you do it not. *The WHOLE PARTY in England*, do you ſay? *Prove out This, and you kill the whole Popiſh Party at a Blow.* Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1.

This was *the Year before the King's Death*, it ſeems: Whas not That within the

the Retrospect of the Act of *Indemnity*? If so, tell me I beseech you, Why may not *We* take the same Freedom with the *Non-Conformists*, that *You* do with the *Papists*?

N. C. **We shall never have done, if you lash out thus upon Digressions. Pray keep to the Question.**

C. As close as you please. What if a Man should shew You a Considerable Number, of the Eminent, and Active *Instruments in the late War*, to be now in the Head of the present Outcry for *Toleration*? (Take This into your Supposition too, that *These very Persons* promoted Our Troubles, *This very Way*; and Proceeded from the *Reformation* of *Discipline*, to the *Dissolution* of *Government*) Are We bound in Charity to take all their *Pretensions* of *Scruple* for *real Tenderness* of *Conscience*?

N. C. **Beyond all Question; unless you can either Evidence their** *Errour* **to be** *Unpardonable*, **or the** *Men Themselves*, *Impenitent*.

De Conscientiâ, lib. 4. cap. 15.

C. Why then let *Amesius* determine betwixt Us. [*Peccata illa, quæ publicè fuerunt nota, debent etiam Confessione Publicâ damnari; quia ad quos malum ipsum Exempli Contagione pervenerat, ad eos etiam*

etiam Pœnitentiæ, ac Emendationis Documentum, si fieri possit, debet transmitti.] *PUBLIQUE SINS* require *PUBLIQUE CONFESSION*; To the End, that as many as were *misled* by the *Example*, may be *set right* again by the *Retraction*, and *Repentance*. This Conclusion pronounces All Those of *the old stamp*, that abused the People *formerly*, under Colour of *Conscience*; and are now at Work *again*, upon the *same Pretext*, without a *Publique Recantation*, to be in a State of *Impenitency*: and gives Us reasonably to presume, that if their *Consciences* can *Swallow*, and *Digest* a *Rebellion*, There is no great Danger of their being *Choak'd* with a *Ceremony*.

Another Thing is This; You do not plead for *Particular Judgments*; (In which Case, a Plea of *Conscience* may be allowed) But *every Man* urges the Equity (in Effect) of a *Toleration* for *all the Rest*. In which Number, You your selves do, severally, and jointly, acknowledge, that there are a great many People of *Insociable* and *Intolerable Principles*; such as in *Conscience* are not to be admitted. And yet herein also, You profess to be guided by Impulses of *Tenderness*, and *Piety*; although in Opposition to the whole Course

of

of your former *Declarations*, and *Proceedings*, that rise up in Judgment against You.

N. C. **If you grant, that there may be a Plea for** *Particulars*, **I shall not much trouble my self about** *Generals*.

C. That Point shall come on in due time. But let us look a little further yet, into the *General Cause*; for if it be not *Conscience*, it is *Confederacy*.

SECT. XIII.

The Conjunct Importunity *of the* Non-Conformists *for a* Toleration, *is a Manifest* CONFEDERACY.

C. THis appears, *First*, from the *Method* of their Proceedings; *Secondly*, from the Natural *Prospect*, and *Tendency* of that *Method*; *Thirdly*, from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of their *Demands*, and *Arguments*; *Fourthly*; from the *Way*, and *Manner* of their *Addresses*, and *Applications*; *Lastly*; from their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Consequence* upon the *Peace* of the *Government*.

As to their *Method*; The *Non-Conformists*

formiſts of *This Age* tread in the very ſteps of their *Predeceſſors*: and This you may obſerve throughout the whole Hiſtory of Them; even from the firſt time that ever the Pretence of Popular Reformation ſet foot in his Majeſties Dominions, unto This Inſtant. This is not a Place for a Deduction of Particulars at length; But a Touch from Point to Point, will not be much amiſs. Wherefore, if you pleaſe, Give me a Brief Accompt of the *Non-Conformiſts*. Firſt, *What kind of People they are*; Secondly, *What It is They would have*; Thirdly, *What will the Kingdom be the better for Granting their Deſires?* Fourthly, *What are their Grievances*, as the Caſe ſtands with them at preſent? Fifthly, *What are they for* Number, *and* Reſolution?

N. C. They are a People Zealous of Religion, Pa. 43. *An Intelligent, Sober ſort of Men, and Numerous among all Ranks*, P. 25. * *Peaceable, and Uſeful in the Commonwealth; Sound in the Faith; Men of Conſcience; Evident Oppoſers of all Errors Pernicious to the Souls of Men, and of an Evil Aſpect upon the Publique Peace.* Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1. * Indulg. & Toler. p. 7.

C. Very Good: And were not the

Spotswoods Hist. Scotl. p. 320, 322.

Conspirators that Seiz'd King *James*, at *Ruthuen*, (1582.) as much as all This amounts to? If You will believe either *Themselves*, or the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh* in their behalf.

Petition to the Queen, p. 15.

Gilby.

The Reforming *Non-Conformists* under Queen *Elizabeth* were *Unreprovable before all* Men; *Her Majesties most Loyal Subjects, and God's Faithful Servants*: [*Most Worthy, Faithful, and Peinful Ministers*; *Modest, Watchful, Knowing in the Scriptures, and of Honest Conversation*; (*Learned, and Godly*; says the *Admonitioner*, Pa. 25. And *Martin Senior* calls them, *The Strength of Our Land*, and *the Sinew of her Majesties Government*.

King's large Declar. p. 66.

The *Scotch Covenanters*, in 1638. outdid All This, for *Zeal to his Majesties Person, and Authority*: *The True Religion, Liberties, and Laws of the Kingdom*.

Ex. Coll. p. 498.

And the *Two Houses* at *Westminster*, In 1642. come not behind Them, in their Professions, for *the Defence, and Maintenance of the True Religion*; *The King's Person, Honour, and Estate, and the Just Rights, and Liberties of the Subject*.

Here's Your *Character*: Now to Your *Demands*, What is it You would have?

N. C.

N. C. (*a*) *A Reformation of Church-Government, Liturgy, and Ceremonies.* (*b*) *A Bearing with weak Consciences:* (*c*) and *A Relaxation of the Prescribed Uniformity.*

(*a*) Two Papers of Propofals, pa. 5. (*b*) Petition for Peace, p. 20. (*c*) Disc. of Relig. Preface. Ex. Col. 19

C. And This you will find to have been the Constant Pretence of the *Non-Conformists*, if you Consult their Story, from One End to the Other. [*Not to let loose the Golden Reins of Discipline, and Government in the Church; But to Unburthen the Consciences of Men, of Needless, and Superstitious Ceremonies, Suppress Innovations, and Settle a Preaching Ministry*, &c.

Put the Case now, that you had your *Asking*; *What would the Kingdom be the better for it?*

N. C. It will be the better for the *King, Church, Nobility,* and *Gentry.* [And *there is No Nation under Heaven, wherein such an Indulgence, or Toleration as is desired, would be more Welcome, Useful, Acceptable; Or more Subservient to Tranquillity, Trade, Wealth, and Peace.*

Disc. of Relig. Indulg. & Toler. p. 31.

C. Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty and the State, is the very Title of a Desperate Libel, Printed 1590. against Both. And the *Humble Motioner* tells

A

You, that *it is for the Advantage of the Queen, Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty; That the Wealth and Honour of the Realm will be Encreased by it, &c.*

Ex. Coll. Pa 3. This was the Stile too of Our Reformers, in 1642. *The Securing of the Publique Peace, Safety and Happiness of the*

Ibid. 21. *Realm*; And *the Laying the Foundation, of more Honour, and Happiness, to his Majesty, then ever was Enjoy'd by any of his Royal Predecessors.*——Now speak your *Grievances.*

In'ulg. & Tol'er. *N.C. We are Excommunicated, Outlawed, Imprison'd. Our Families Starved,* and *Begger'd.* P. 8. *Proceeded against with Outward Punishments, Pecuniary, and*

Disc. of Relig. *Corporal, Nay Death it self.* P. 9. [**And all this while** *Trade languishes, Rents fall, Money scarce.* P. 26. *Never a greater Separation; Never a more General Dissatisfaction.* P. 27.

C. Pray'e say: Was it ever better, since *Non-Conformists* came into the World?

Spotswoods Hist. Scotl. P. 327. Was not King *James, a Favourer of the Enemies of God's Truth, and of Dissolute Persons? A Discountenancer of Godly Ministers? A Promise-Breaker to the Church; and a Perverter of the Laws;* Insomuch that *No man could be assured of his Lands, and Life?* Was

Was it any better even under the Celebrated Government of Queen *Elizabeth*? *(a)* There were *Citations*, *Degradings*, and *Deprivations*. *(b) Some in the Marshalsey*; *Some in the White-Lion*; *Some in the Gate-house at Westminster*; *Others in the Counter*, *Or in the Clinke*, *Or in Bride-well*, *Or in Newgate*. [*How many Good Mens Deaths have the Bishops been the Cause of? How many have they driven to leave the Ministry, and live by Physique? Or to leave their Country?* [*Poor Men have been miserably handled, with Revilings, Deprivations, Imprisonments, Banishments: and Out of This Realm, they have all the best Reformed Churches through Christendom against them.* [*If This Persecution be not provided for, great Trouble will come of it.*

(a) Petition to her Majesty, p. 25.
(b) Second Admonit. How p. 37.
Ibid. p. 25.
First Admonit. p. 2.
Second Admonit. p. 59.

How your Party demean'd Themselves toward the *Late King*, of Blessed Memory, in the matter of *Calumny*, and *Reproach*, You may read at large in that Grand, and Infamous Libel; *The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom*, Decemb. 15. 1642.

Ex. Coll. p. 3.

But after all This; What are these People, for *Number*, and *Resolution*, that make such a Clutter?

Indulg. & Tolerat.

N. C. **Thouſands** *of the Upright of the Land.* [**Petition for Peace,** Pag. 21.] **Multitudes** *do* **Diſſent,** *and* **Reſolve to Continue ſo doing** ; *Whatever they ſuffer for it.* Pa. 20. *And to forego the Utmoſt of their Earthly Concernments, rather then to Live and Die in an Open Rebellion to the Commanding Light of God in their Conſciences.* —*To Ruine Men in their* **Subſtantials** *of* BODY, *and* LIFE, *for* **Ceremonies**; *is a Severity, which* ENGLISHMEN *will not, long time, by any means, give Countenance unto.* Pa. 23. [*To Execute* **Extremity** *upon an Intelligent, Sober, and Peaceable Sort of Men, ſo* **Numerous** *among all Ranks, may prove Exceeding* **Difficult, unleſs it be Executed by ſuch Inſtruments as may ſtrik Terrour into the whole Nation.** P. 25.

Diſc. of Relig. Pars 1.

C. Was not Queen *Elizabeth* told of Thouſands, *and* Hundreds of Thouſands, *that ſighed for the* Holy Diſcipline? *And that ſince neither Parliament, nor Convocation-houſe would take it into Conſideration, They might blame Themſelves, if it came in by* ſuch Means, as would make all their Hearts Ake? *The Truth will prevail* (ſays the *Demonſtrator*) *in ſpight of your Teeth, and all the Adverſaries of it.* The

The most Unnatural, Causeless, and Horrible Rebellion, that This, or (perhaps) any other Age in the World hath been Acquainted with (To borrow the Words of his Late Majesty) was *Prefaced* with *a Petition in the Name of all the Men, Women, Children, and Servants, of* Edinburgh, *against the* Service-Book: *And Another, in the Name of the Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgesses, against the* Service-Book, *and* Book of Canons; *Protesting* afterwards, *that if any Inconvenience should fall out, by reason of Pressing these Innovations, it was not to be imputed to Them, that sought all Things to be Reformed by Order.* La. Declaration, p. 53. Ibid. p. 41, 42. Ibid. p. 52.

This Commotion in *Scotland*, led the Way to Our succeeding Broils in *England*; Which were promoted by the like Artifices. Great Numbers *of his Majesties Subjects, Oppress't by Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings*; *and* Many Thousands *of Tradesmen, and Artificers, Empoverish't by a Generality, and Multiplicity of Vexations.* [Great Numbers *of Learned, and Pious Ministers Suspended, Deprived, and Degraded.* In fine, from *Pamphlets*, they advanced to *Petitions*; from *Petitions*, to *Tumults*; and from thence, into a Formal State of *War*. Ex. Coll. p. 8. Ibid. p. 9.

N. C. So that from This *Agreement* in *Method*, You will pretend to Infer a *Conformity* of *Design*.

C. From This *Agreement* in *Method*; and from the *Natural Tendency of This Method*, I think a Man may honestly Conclude, it can be Nothing else: and I doubt not, but upon a Sober Examination of the Matter, I shall find You of the same Opinion.

The most *Sacred* of all *Bonds* is That of *Government*, next to That of *Religion*; and the Reverence which we owe to *Humane Authority*, is Only Inferior to That which we owe to *God Himself*. This being duly Weighed, and that the *Lesser Obligation* must give place to the *Greater*. (As for Instance) *Reason of State*, to Matter of *Religion*, and *Humane Laws* to the *Law Divine*: What has any Man more to do, for the Embroyling of a Nation, but first to Puzzle the Peoples Heads with *Doubts*, and *Scruples*, about their Respective Duties to *God*, and *Man*; and then, to Possess them, that *This*, or *That Political Constitution*, has no Foundation in the *Holy Scriptures*? To bid Them *stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made them Free*, Galat. 5. 1.

And

And Finally, to Engage the *Name* of *God*, and the *Credit* of *Religion* in the Quarrel?

N. C. **And do not you your self believe it** *better to Obey God, then Man?*

C. Yes; but I think it best of all to *Obey Both:* To Obey *God*, for *Himself*, in *Spirituals*; and *Man*, for *God's sake*, in *Temporals*, as He is *God's Commissioner*. But tell me; Are you not Convinced, that the most likely way in the World to stir up *Subjects* against their *Prince*, is To Proclaim the *Iniquity* of his *Laws*, and then to Preach *Damnation* upon *Obedience?*

N. C. **What if it be? Does it follow, because** *Religion* **may be made a Cloak for a** *Rebellion*, **That therefore, It is never to be Pleaded for a** *Reformation?*

C. Truly I have seldom known a *Conscientious Reformation*, accompanied with the Circumstances of Our Case. Here is, *first*, a *Character* of the *Non-Conformists*, drawn by *their own Hand*; and set off with such Flourishes of *Purity*, and *Perfection*, as if the *Scribes and Pharisees Themselves* had fit for their *Picture*. In the *Second Place*, You demand, partly, a *Reformation*; partly, a *Toleration*: And Matth. 23. v. 23, 24.

in

in the *Third*, You assure Us, that *all England shall be the better for't.* (Of These Two Points hereafter.) In the *Fourth*, You enlarge upon your *Grievances*; and instead of applying to the *Government*, on the behalf of the *People*, You are clearly upon the Strein of *Appeal* to the *People* from the Rigour of the *Government.* Your *Text* is *Liberty of Conscience*; But the *Stress* of your *Discourse* lies upon *the Liberty of the Subject*: The *Decay* of *Trade*, *Scarcity* of *Money*, *Fall* of *Rents*, The *Substantials* of *BODY*, and *LIFE*, *Imprisonment*, *&c.* Upon the Whole; Your Writings want nothing but *Forms*, of *a Direct Indictment of King and Parliament for Persecution, and Tyranny*; And would very well bear the *Translation* of their *being led on by the Instigation of the Devil, Not having the Fear of the Lord before their Eyes.* If You can defend this manner of Proceeding, pray do it.

Disc. of Relig. *N. C. What can be of greater Concernment to Governours, then to Discern, and Consider the State of their People, as it is indeed? And Why may it not be Minded of Subjects, and spoken of, without any Hint, or Thought of* Rebellion? Pag. 27.

C. But

C. But What can be of greater *Miſchief* to *Governours*, then under Colour of *Remonſtrating* to *Them*, the *State of their People*, at the Same time, to *diſaffect* the *People*, by an Odious Accompt of the *Errors*, *Misfortunes*, and *Calamities* of the *Government*? *Governours are not to be told their Faults in the Market-Place*; Neither are *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, by your own Rules, to be admitted for *Privy-Counſellors*. This is ſpoken as to the *Good Office* of your *Information*.

As to the *Intention* of it, I am not ſo bold, as to Judge your *Thoughts*: But if You had *any Drift at all* in it, and *Conſider'd* what You *did*, I do not ſee, how You can acquit your ſelf of *Evil Meaning*. *Suppoſe the Whole Invective True*; And that you *ſuffer for Righteouſneſs*. (to make the Faireſt of it) What *Effect* do you expect theſe Diſcourſes may have upon the *People*? and *What* upon the *Magiſtrate*? Will not every Man conclude, that the *Engliſh* are the Wretched'ſt *Slaves* upon the Face of the Earth? Neither *Liberty of Religion*, nor of *Perſon*, for any Man that makes *a Conſcience of his Ways*: The Whole Nation, Groaning under *Beggery*, and *Bondage*. Now *ſee What Effects theſe Impreſſions may reaſonably*

ſonably produce; and Thoſe Effects are as reaſonably to be taken for the Scope of your Intention.

Turn now to the *Magiſtrate*, and ſay; What Proportion do you find betwixt theſe Rude *Diſobligations upon* the *Government*, and the Returns of *Grace*, and *Favour* You deſire ſo Earneſtly *from* it? On the Other Side; if your *Report* be *Falſe*, Your *Deſign* appears ſtill to be *the ſame*; Only with the Aggravations, of more *Animoſity*, and *Malice* in *Purſuance* of it. But *True*, or *Falſe*, it is Nothing at all to the Buſineſs of *Toleration*, but a *Palpable Tranſition* from matter of *Conſcience*, to matter of *State*.

This is the Courſe, in General, of Our Advocates for *Toleration*; and by the Deſperate Sallies, they make, from *Religion*, to *Government*, in their *Pamphlets*, A Man may gueſs what it is they would be at in their *Pulpits*.

N. C. Oppreſſion makes a Wiſeman mad; **and 'tis not Generous to Deſcant upon every thing, that is bolted in** *Heat*, **and** *Paſſion*, **as if it were a formed Diſcourſe, upon** *Deliberation*, **and** *Counſel*.

C. But is it not a ſtrange thing (my Good Friend) for ſo many Men to be

Mad

Mad at a Time; and to be *Mad the Same Way too?* It you will have it, that they mean juſt *Nothing at all*, I am content; But if they mean *any thing*, and all agree in the *ſame Meaning*; It can be nothing elſe but a *Confederacy*.

The next Point makes it yet more Evident; that is to ſay, The Marſhalling of their *Numbers*, and their *Thouſands*; The Boaſt of their *Intereſt*, in all Parties, and of the *Difficulty* to *Suppreſs* them: The *Proclamation* of their *Reſolution* to Live and Die in defence of their *Opinions*, with an *Innuendo*, of the *Magiſtrates* Meddling with them *at their Peril*. What can be the End of this *Rhodomontade*; but to ſtartle the *Government*, on the One Side, and to animate the *Multitude*, on the Other? It is no Argument at all for an *Indulgence*, that they are *Many*, *Powerful*, and *Reſolute*; But point blank againſt it: Unleſs they can approve themſelves to be *Regular*, *Governable*, and *Honeſt*. To Sum up all; Here are *Faults* found in the *Government*; and the *People* Tamper'd into a *Diſlike* of it; So that here's a *Diſpoſition* to a Change, wrought *already*.

No ſooner is the *Multitude* perſwaded of the *Neceſſity* of a *Reformation*; but behold

behold the *Manner* of it; It must be either by a *Thorough-Alteration*, a *Comprehension*, a *Toleration*, or a *Connivence*. And for the Principal Undertakers, You may put your Lives in their Hands; for (if they do not slander Themselves) They are as *Godly*, an *Intelligent Sort of People*, as a Man shall see in a Summers Day. Now, for the *Introducing* of This *Reformation*, there is no way, but *to set up the Word of God, against the Law of the Land*: By the *Un-Bishopping of Timothy, and Titus*; and giving the People a Sight
Acts 5.38. of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, and *Gamaliel's Dilemma*, through a Pair of *Reforming Spectacles*; By which, they discover the *Divine Right* of *Presbytery*, with One Eye; and *That* of *Universal Toleration* with the Other; and so become *One* in the *Common Cause* of Maintaining *Gospel Worship*, against *Humane Inventions*.

The next Care is, to Gratifie the *Common People*; for there's nothing to be done, till they come; and there is no Reason in the World, that the poor Wretches should Venture Soul, Life, and Estate, *Gratis*! This is Effected, by the Doctrine of *Liberty of Conscience*. For Grant but every Man a *Right*, of *Acting*, according to the *Dictate* of his *Conscience*, and

and he has Conſequently, a *Liberty* of *Doing* Whatſoever he ſhall pretend to be according to *That Dictate*; And of *Refuſing* to do, whatſoever he ſhall ſay is *againſt* it: By which Invention, *the Laws of the Kingdom* are ſubjected to *the Pretended Conſciences of the People*; and the *Multitude* are made the *Judges* of the *Controverſie*.

Now comes in the *Joynt-Struggle* of the *Non-Conformiſts* for a *Toleration*. *This*, if it may be *obtain'd*, puts them in a Capacity of doing the *Reſt*, *Themſelves*. But in Caſe of *Oppoſition*, Their laſt Reſort is to a *Muſter* of their *Forces*; A Computation of their *Strength*, and *Intereſts*; Which is the Very ſame Thing, as if they ſhould ſay, in ſo many Syllables; *Gentlemen*; *You ſee the Parliament does not Regard Us*: *We have a Good Cauſe*, *and Hands enow to do the Work*, *in ſpight of their Hearts*: *UP AND BE DOING*. After This; There wants Nothing, but the Word, *The Sword of the Lord*, *and of Gideon*, To Crown the Enterprize. If *This* be not a *Conſpiracy*, tell me *What Is*.

N. C. **You ſay, It is; and We deny it.**

C. There are ſtrong Preſumptions alſo of

of a *Confederacy*, to be gathered from the *Nature*, and *Quality* of your *Demands*. You deſire a *Comprehenſion*, a *Toleration*; But then you place the *Conditions* of it, out of the Reach of *Ordinary Proof*, and indeed, of *Humane Cognizance*. (as is ſhew'd already) So that No Body knows, who are to be *Comprehended*, and who *left out*. This looks, as if your Buſineſs were rather to *enflame* the Difference, then to *compoſe* it. And then, when you are preſt to *Name*, and Specifie the *Parties* you plead for; (ſince by your own Confeſſion, ſeveral are to be Excluded) You fly ſtill to the *Generalities*, of *Important Intereſts*, and *Congruous Principles*, and ſo leave the Matter utterly uncapable of any Clear, and Logical Reſult; Unleſs you will allow *Governours* the *Inſpection* of their *Subjects Hearts*: Or Teach us how to Reduce *Wild*, and *Uncertain Notions*, under the Proſpect of a *Steady Law*. But the Reaſon of your Dealing thus in the dark, I ſuppoſe may be This: Your *Deſign* is to be carry'd on under the *Countenance* of the *Common Cauſe*, wherein, all thoſe Perſons are *United* againſt the *Government*, that would otherwiſe ſpend their *Animoſities*, *One* upon *Another*, and break into a thouſand Pieces among Themſelves.

ſelves. Now for you to declare *for* any *One Party*, were Virtually, to *declare againſt* all the Reſt, and Diſſolve the *Combination*.

Touching the *Manner* of their *Addreſſes*, I ſhall only add, (to what is paſt) that they are *Invectives*, *againſt* thoſe that *cannot* relieve them, without any *Formal Application* to thoſe that *can*: And tend Naturally to the *Tumultuating* of the *People*, without any Colour of Contributing to their *Benefit*.

Of their *Agreement* in Matters of *Dangerous Conſequence*, enough is ſpoken already, to put it paſt all Contradiction, That *Their Conjunct Importunity for a Toleration, is a Manifeſt* CONFEDERACY. Wherefore let us now proceed from the *Drift*, and *Deſign* of their *Pretenſions*, to the *Morality*, and *Reaſon* of Them.

SECT. XIV.

The Non-Conformists Joynt Pretences FOR *A* Toleration, *overthrown, by the Evidence of their* Joynt-Arguments, Professions, *and* Practises AGAINST *it.*

A C. DO *as you would be done by*, is the Precept, both of *Gospel*, and *Nature*. With what face then, can you *ask* a *Toleration* from *That Government*, which of all Others, your selves *refused* to *Tolerate*? From *That Prince*, to whose Blessed *Father* (in the Depth of his Agonies) you cruelly deny'd the *Use*, and *Service* of his own *Chaplains*? [**A greater Rigour, and Barbarity, then is ever used by** *Christians* **to the** *Meanest Prisoners*, **and** *Greatest Malefactors*. **But They that Envy my being a** *King* **are loth I should be a** *Christian*; **While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should save my Soul.** These are the Words of that Pious Prince in his last Extremity.

Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 207.

B *N. C.* **That Rigour was the Barbarism**

barism of a *Faction*, Not the Principles of the *Party*.

C. Hear your *Party* ſpeak then. [*It is much, that our Brethren ſhould* ſeparate *from the Church; but that they ſhould endeavour to get a* Warrant, *to* Authorize *their* Separation *from it, and to have Liberty* (*by drawing Members out of it*) *to Weaken, and Diminiſh it, till,* (*ſo far as lies in them*) *they have brought it to Nothing; This we think to be plainly* Unlawfuf. *London* Miniſters Letter to the Aſſembly, *Jan.* 1. 1645.

Toleration *would be the Putting the Sword in a Madman's hand; A Proclaiming Liberty to the Wolves, to come into Chriſt's Flock to Prey upon his Lambs.* Harmony of the *Lancaſhire* Miniſters. p. 12.

Extirpate all Achans, *with* Babyloniſh Garments, Orders, Ceremonies, Geſtures; *Let them be rooted out from among Us. You of the Honourable Houſe*, Up; *for the Matter belongs to You.* We, *even* All the Godly Miniſters of the Country, will be with You. Mr. *Faircloth*, on *Joſh.* 7. 25.

Toleration *makes the Scripture a Noſe of Wax: A Rule of Faith to all Religions.* *Rutherford's* Free Diſp. p. 360.

Liberty of Conſcience, *and* Toleration *of all, or any Religion, is ſo Prodigious an Impiety, that this Religious Parliament cannot but abhor the very Naming of it.* *Bayly's* Diſſwaſive Epiſt Ded. 1645.

Sir, House to the Assembly, 1645. Anti-Toleration, P. 16.

Such a Toleration *is utterly repugnant to, and Inconsistent with the Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation.*

It is unreasonable (says the Defender of the *London Ministers* Letter to the Assembly) *that* Independents *should desire That* Toleration *of* Presbyters, *which they would not* give *to* Presbyters. For **With what face can I desire a Courtesie from Him, to whom I do openly protest, I would deny the same Courtesie?** Does not this hold as well for Us, as it did for You?

N. C. **You must not Impose the Judgments of** *Particular Persons* **upon Us, as Instances of** *Publique Authority.*

C. What do ye think then of your *National Covenant?* Was *That* an Act of *Authority?* Wherein you bind Your selves by an *Oath*, to settle *an Uniform Presbytery, to the Exclusion of all other Forms of Church-Order*, or *Government whatsoever*; (under the Notion of *Schism*) and of *Prelacy* by *Name?* Are your *Consciences FOR Toleration* Now, that were so much *AGAINST* it *Then?* Nay; there are many among you, that reckon your selves under an *Obligation*, to pursue the *Ends* of that *Covenant*, even to this

this very Day: And do you think it Reasonable, for a Government to grant *Privileges*, and *Advantages* of *Power*, and *Credit*, to a Party, that owns it self under an *Oath of Confederacy* to endeavour the *Extirpation* of it?

N. C. You mean I suppose of *Church-Government.*

C. I mean of Both *Church*, and *State.* Was it not the Test of the *King's Enemies*, as well as of the *Bishops*? Was it not made *Death without Mercy*, for any Man, having taken the *Solemn League and Covenant*, to adhere to his *Majesty*? *The League and Covenant* (says *Rutherford*) *was the first Foundation of the Ruine of the Malignant Party in* England. And whoever refuses to *Disclaim* it, must be rationally understood, still to Drive on the *Intent* of it. So that to *Tolerate* the *Non-Conformists*, is to *Tolerate* the *Sworn Adversaries*, both of *Royal*, and *Episcopal Authority*: Nay, to *Tolerate Those* that have Sworn to *persist* in that Opposition, all the Days of their Lives; Over and above the *Tolerating* of those upon *Pretence* of *Conscience FOR* a *Toleration*, that *deny* to *Tolerate* all other People, upon as strong a Pretence of *Conscience AGAINST* it.

The Kirks Testimony against Toleration p. 10.

Where was This Spirit of *Moderation* toward *the weak Brethren*, in the *Total Suppression* of the Book of *Common-Prayer*; and the *Imposing* of the *Directory*, to be Observed *in all the Churches within This Kingdom*? [No *Ruling Elders*, but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. No *Electors* of *Elders* neither, (by the Ordinance of *March* 14. 1645.) but such as have taken the *National Covenant*. [No *Ordination*, without a *Testimonial* of having taken the *Covenant* of the Three Kingdoms. None to be Admitted, or Entertained in the *Universities*, without taking the Solemn *League and Covenant*, and the *Negative Oath*; and Upon Conditions of *Submission*, and *Conformity* to the *Discipline*, and *Directory*.

Acts and Ordinances, Part 1. p. 97.

Ibid. 165.

Ibid. 171.

Nay further: You will find in the *Four Bills*, and *Propositions* sent to his Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, (*March* 1647.) when the Two Parties, *Presbyterian*, and *Independent* were upon so hard a Tugg; That the *Presbyterian Government*, and *Directory* seem'd to be *resolv'd upon* in *one Line*, and *unsettled* again, in *the very next*. By a Provision: *That no Persons whatsoever should be liable to any Question, or Penalty, for Non-Conformity to the Form of Government, and Divine Service* ap-

Pa. 30, 31.

appointed in the Ordinances; (then in Force) *but be at Liberty to Meet for the Worship of God; so as nothing might be done to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom.* Yet in This *Crisis* of Affairs; they could clap in another stabbing *Proviso* against *Us*, upon the neck of That: *i.e.* That *This Indulgence shall not extend to* Tolerate *the Use of* the Book of Common-Prayer, *in any Place whatsoever.* And at this rate, you treated the *Episcopal Party*, throughout the whole Course of your Power.

N. C. **And good Cause for it. Were not they the most likely of all others to disappoint our Settlement?**

C. Agreed. But as to the matter of *Conscience*; Did you *Well*, or *Ill* in't? Or rather, Was there any thing of *Conscience* in the Case?

N. C. **Certainly it was very fit for the** *Civil Power* **to look to it self: And the Power** *Ecclesiastical* **was no less concern'd to exact a Conformity to the Laws, and Ordinances of** *Christ.*

C. How can you say This, and consider what you say, without blushing? If you did *well*, in *Refusing* to *Tolerate* the *Episcopal Way*, because you thought it not *Right*; the Reason is as strong for *Our*

Way, that have the same Opinion of *Yours*: If you did *Well* on the *Other* side, out of a *Political Regard* to the *Publique Peace*, so do *We* now, upon *That very score*. So that you must either confess, that *You* did *Ill*, *Then*, in *Refusing* a *Toleration* to *Us*; or otherwise allow, that *Authority* does *Well*, *Now*, in not permitting it to *You*.

N. C. **There might be some Plea for a little Strictness more then ordinary, in the Heat of an Eager, and Publique Contention: But methinks a** *Persecution* **in** *Cold Blood*, **does not savour of the Spirit of our** *Profession*.

SECT. XV.

The Non-Conformists JOYNT-COMPLAINTS *of* Hard Measure, *and* Persecution, *confronted with their own* JOYNT-PROCEEDINGS.

C. WHat is it that you call *Hard Measure*, and *Persecution*?

N. C. **Your Unmerciful** *Impositions*, **upon** *Tender Consciences*, **by** *Subscriptions*,

ons, *Declarations, &c. There are few Nations under the Heavens of God (as far as I can learn) that have more* **Able, Holy, Faithful, Laborious,** *and* **Truly Peaceable** *Preachers of the Gospel, (Proportionably) then Those that are now* **cast out** *in* **England**, *and are like in* **England, Scotland,** *and* **Ireland** *to be* **cast out,** *if the* **Old Conformity** *be still urged.* | *Ours is not a* **Wicked, Prophane, Drunken** *Ministry.* Petition for Peace, p. 4. 1661. Mr. *Calamy*, Of the Ark, p. 21.

C. That is, by Interpretation: *God We thank Thee, that We are not as other Men are.—Nor even as these Publicans.* But to the Matter.

These People that you speak of, are set aside for *not Obeying* the Law: But What do you think of those, that were turn'd out of their Livings, because they would not *Oppose* it? And they were *dispossest* too, by some of *the present Complainants themselves*: Who first came in at the *Window*, and now are turn'd out at the *Door*. No less then *a Hundred and fifteen* were Ejected here in *London*, within the Bills of Mortality (besides *Paul's* and *Westminster*) And the rest of the Kingdom throughout, was purged after that Proportion. Nor was it thought enough to *Sequester*, unless they *starv'd* them

them too; for they were not allow'd to take the Employment, either of *School-Masters*, or *Chaplains*, but under Heavy *Penalties*. In *South-Wales*, the *Gospel* was as well *Persecuted*, as the *Ministry*: The *Churches shut up*, and the People let loose to the Lusts and Corruptions of Unbridled Nature. The Only Pretence of *Justification* that the *Reformers* had, was That *Unchristian*, and *Unmanly Libel*, *WHITE'S CENTURIES of Scandalous Ministers*; wherein, without any Respect, either to *Truth*, or *Modesty*, They have Expos'd so many Reverend Names, to *Infamy*, and *Dishonour*, for the better Colour of their own Sacrilegious Usurpations. But take This along with you, that *Loyalty* in those Days past for a Punishable, and Notorious *Scandal*.

N. C. **These were Acts of** *Policy*, **and let** *Statesmen* **answer for them. But to have Men cast out of the Church, because they will not** *Subscribe*, **and** *Declare*, **contrary to their** *Consciences*, **is doubtless a most** *Unconscionable Severity*.

C. And What is it in the *Subsciption* (I beseech you) that you stumble at? As to the Acknowledgment of *his Majesties*

jesties Supremacy, I suppose, you would not be thought to stick at That. And in Matters of *Doctrine*, you make Profession to *joyn* with us: So that about *the Lawfulness of using the Book of Common Prayer, and your own Submission to the Use of it*, is the Only Question. Your Exceptions likewise to the *Declarations* seem to be very weakly grounded, unless you make a Scruple of Declaring your selves for the *Uniformity* of the *Church*, Or for the *Peace* of the *Civil Government*: In which Cases you cannot fairly pretend to be trusted in *Either*. But not to Extravagate. You are against the *Imposing* of *Subscriptions*, and *Declarations*, you say.

N. C. **I am against the very** *Imposition it self*, **upon any Terms; But when They are prest upon** *Grievous Penalties*, **They are utterly** *Intolerable*. A

C. And yet when the *Common-Prayer* was *abolish't*, There was a *PENALTY*, of *Five Pound*, for the *first* Offence; *Ten* for the *Second*; And a *Years Imprisonment*, without Bail or Mainprize, for the *Third Offence*, upon any Man that should use it. So that Here was an Interdiction of *Our* Way of *Worship* upon a *PENALTY*; and No notice taken of Invading

vading the *Liberty* of *Our Consciences*. By the same Ordinance, of *August* 23. 1645: was also commanded the Exercise and Order of the *Directory*; and *That* upon a *FORFEITURE* too: With a *PENALTY*, from *Five Pound* to *Fifty*, upon any Man, that shou'd Preach, Write, or Print any thing to the Derogation of it. Now Here was *Rigor*, you see, on *Both Sides*: But no *Clamor*, upon the Matter of *Conscience* in *This Case* neither.

How many of Our Ministers were Poyson'd in *Peter-House*, And *Other Prisons*, either for *Worshipping according* to their *Consciences*, or *refusing* to Act *against* Them! No Man was admitted to his Composition without *SWEARING*; No Man to live in the Parliaments Quarters without *SWEARING*.

Neither were We only debarr'd the *Common Rights* of *Subjects*, and the *Benefits* of *Society*: But the *Comforts* of *Religion* were denied Us; And an *Anathema* pronounced upon Us for Our *Fidelity*. The *General Assembly* in *Scotland* Ordain'd, *That known Compliers with the Rebells, and such as Procured Protections from the Enemy; or kept Correspondence, or Intelligence with Him, should be* Suspended

ded *from the* Lord's Supper, *till they manifeſted their Repentance before the Congregation.* [*Gilleſpy's Uſeful Caſes of Conſcience*, Pag. 19, 20.] His late Majeſty, in his *Large Declaration* of the Affairs of *Scotland*, Pag. 199. tells you, That *Men were beaten, turn'd out of their Livings, Reviled, Excommunicated, Proceſs'd, for* NOT SUBSCRIBING *the Covenant.* And again, *Pa.* 202. That *there was an* OATH *given at a* Communion *at* Fife, *Not to take* the King's Covenant, *Nor* any other, *but their* own. Now, hear the *Commiſſioners* of the *General Aſſembly*, *July* 25. 1648. *His Majeſtie's* Conceſſions, *and* Offers, *from the* Iſle of Wight, *are to be by the Parliament Declared* Unſatisfactory; *Unleſs his Majeſty give Aſſurance by* SOLEMN OATH, *under his Hand, and Seal, for Settling* Religion *according to the* Covenant; *before his Reſtitution to his Royal Power,*

But that I am loth to overcharge you, I could give you the Hiſtory of the *Spiritting* ſeveral Perſons of Honour for *Slaves*; *The Sale of Three or Four Score Gentlemen to the* Barbadoes; beſide *Plunders*, *Decimations*, and infinite other Outrages, both Publique, and Private.

Give

A Give me leave to mind you now a little of ſome few of Your General Proviſions for the Deſtruction of the *King's Party*, and the Extirpation of that *Family*, and *Government* to which Providence has once again Subjected you.

(a) *Scob.* Acts, Pars 1. P.37. (b) P.135. (a) *An Ordinance for Sequeſtration of Delinquents Eſtates.* (b) *Delinquents Diſabled to bear any Office, or have any Vote in Election of any Major, &c.* Here's *Eſtate*, and *Legal Freedom* gone already: Now follows *Baniſhment* from One Place, and *Confinement* to Another. (c) *Delinquents muſt be removed from* London *and* Weſtminſter, *and Confined within five Miles of their own Dwelling.* (d) *Correſpondency with* Charles Stuart, *or his Party prohibited, under Pain of* High Treaſon; and (e) *Death to any Man, that ſhall attempt the Revival of his Claim, or that ſhall be Aiding, Aſſiſting, Comforting, or Abetting, unto any Perſon endeavouring to ſet up the Title of Any of the* Iſſue *of the* Late King.

(c) Pars 2. p.10. (d) P.175. (e) P.372.

Where were the *ABLE, HOLY, FAITHFUL, LABORIOUS,* and *TRULY PEACEABLE Preachers of the Goſpel, with the Tender Conſciences* you talk of, when Theſe Things were a Doing? Truly, Neither

Better

Better nor Worse, then up to the very Ears, a great many of them, in the Main Action. Some, Preaching up the *Conscience* of the War; Others, Wheedling the City out of their *Money* to *Maintain* it; and Calling for more *Blood* in *Prosecution* of it. Till in the Conclusion, The *King*, and the *Government*, fell in the *Quarrel*: And the *Pulpits* all this while at hand, to *Patronize* the *Reformation*.

N. C. **This Ripping up of Old Stories, does but widen the Breach, without doing any Good at all.**

C. If you would not *hear* of these things again, you should not *do* them again.

N. C. **Then it seems the** *Whole* **must suffer for some** *Particulars*.

C. No, not so. But neither must the *Whole* go *Scot-free* for some *Particulars*. Would you have me open my Door to a Troop of Thieves, because there are four or five Honest Men in the Company? That there are divers *Conscientious*, and well-minded Men among the *Non-Conformists*, I make no Question. But I am yet Positive in This, that the *Non-Conformists*, in *Conjunction*, are in a Direct *Conspiracy*; and that when they come

come once to *agree* in a *Publique Complaint*, It is no longer *Conſcience*, but *Faction*. This by the By. ——Now to the Matter before Us; I have given you a Breviate of *your own Proceedings*, in the very Caſe of your Preſent *Complaints*. Lay your Hand upon your Heart, and bethink your ſelf, who are the *Perſecutors*.

N. C. **Let the *Perſecution* reſt where it will; I am fully perſwaded, that there is no Settling of this Kingdom in a State of *Security*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*, without an *Indulgence*, or *Toleration*.**

SECT. XVI.

The Non-Conformiſts *tell us*, *That* Liberty of Conſcience *is the* Common Intereſt *of* This Kingdom: *but* REASON, *and* EXPERIENCE *tell us the* CONTRARY.

C. THat We may not ſpend our ſelves in *Repetition*, *Cavil*, or *Confuſion*; Take Notice, that 'tis the *General Cauſe* of the *Non Conformiſts*, which is coming under Debate. For *That Toleration*

ration which the *Whole Party* deſires, muſt needs be a *Toleration* of the *Whole Party*: And *That* I *Oppoſe*; in Confidence, that I have *Reaſon*, and *Experience* on my ſide. We have ſpoken already, as to the *Unlawfulneſs*; and ſomewhat likewiſe, to the *Dangerous Conſequences* of it: Together with the *Unruly Opinions*, and *Practices* of ſeveral of the Pretenders to it. We are now to look a little further into it, with a more Immediate regard to the *Common Intereſt* of the *Kingdom*, which we may place in the Concernments of *Religion*, *Government*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*.

To begin with *Religion*: I do not Underſtand, how That which delights in *Unity*, ſhall be advantaged by *Diviſion*, and *Fraction*.

N. C. **As if there could be no** *Unity* **of** *Doctrine*, **without** *Uniformity* **of** *Diſcipline*. **The Precept is**; *One Lord*, *One Faith*, *One Baptiſm*: **And not** *One Way*, *One Form of Worſhip*. A

C. I might tell you, that it is of *Ancient*, and *Unreprovable Practice*, for every *National Church* to appoint *its own Platform* of *Service*, and *Ceremonies*; And to require *Obedience*, and *Conformity* to *That Model*, and to *Thoſe Rites* reſpe-

ctively, from all its Members. But This I shall not insist upon. There is *no Precept* (you say) for any *One Way*, or *Form*. But can you shew me, that an *Uniformity* of *Service*, and *Rituals* is any where *forbidden*?

Disc. of a Relig. Pars 1.

N. C. Not in **Particular**: **But** *in the* **General Prohibition** *of all* **Uncommanded Worship**, *Pag.* 26.

C. The Matter in short is This. Either We *have* a *Rule* in the *Gospel* for the *Manner* of Our *Worship*; Or we have *None*. If there be *No way* of *Commanded Worship*, left us, by *Christ*, and his *Apostles*; And all *Uncommanded Worship* be (as you say) *forbidden*, There must be *No appointed Worship at all*; and *Then*, every Man is at *Liberty*, Not only to *Worship* after what *Manner* he pleases, but (effectually) to Chuse, Whether he'l *Worship*, or *No*: Which brings in all sorts of *Heresies*, and *Blasphemies*; and Countenances even *Atheism it self*. Now, on the other Hand; If there be any *Particular Manner of Worship Prescribed* in the *Word of God*; from *That Particular Manner*, we must not presume to Vary, by a *Toleration* of any *other Way* then *That*; or of *More*, then *One*. Besides, that it undermines the

Foun-

Foundation of all *Communities*, to deny the *Civil Authority* a Right of Interposing in such Cases, as are Neither *Commanded*, nor *Forbidden*, by *God*.

Let us next Consider the *Probable Effects* of a *Toleration*, in respect of the *Parties* pretending to it. Which are, either *Presbyterian*; Or (in a Sense of Contradistinction) *Independent*. The *Former* are for a *Subordination* in Churches. The *Other* for an *Independency*: (according to their *Denomination*) *These* are for *Gather'd Congregations*; The *Other*, for *Parochial*.

I will not trouble you with the Argumentative Part of the Differences betwixt them; About the *Subordination*, or *Coordination* of *Churches*; The *Redundance*, or *Defect* of *Church-Officers*; The *Receptacle* of *the Power of the Keys*, and the like: But Nakedly, and Briefly, shew you the *Kindness* they have for *One Another*; The Regards they have for *Christian Charity*, in the Menage of the Quarrel; and Then leave you your self to Judge, what may be the *Event* of such a *Toleration*, as to *RELIGION*.

The *Sectaries* (says *Edwards* in his *Gangræna*) agree with *Julian* the *Apo-*

ſtate, P. 54.] They are *Libertines*, and *Atheiſts*, P. 185.] *Unclean*, *Inceſtuous*, P. 187.] *Drunkards*, P. 190.] *Sabbath-Breakers*, *Deceivers*, P. 191.] Guilty of *Groſs Lying*, *Slandering*, *Juggling*, *Falſifying their Words and Premiſes*: Exceſſive *Pride*, and *Boaſting*, P. 192.] *Inſufferable Inſolences*, *Horrible Affronts to Authority*, P. 194.] There never was a more *Hypocritical*, *Falſe*, *Diſſembling*, *Cunning* Generation in *England*, then many of the *Grandees* of thoſe *Sectaries*.——They Encourage, Protect, and Cry up for *Saints*, Sons of *Belial*, and the *Vileſt* of *Men*, P. 240. *Gangræna's Second Part*, 1646. —See Now the *Other Party* doe as much for the *Presbyterians*.

The Presbyterian Government is *Anti-Chriſtian*, *Tyrannical*, *Lordly*, *Cruel*, a worſe *Bondage* then under the *Prelates*; A *Bondage* under *Task-Maſters*, as the *Iſraelites* in *Ægypt*: A *Preſumptuous*, *Irregular Conſiſtory*, which hath no Ground in the Word of God. *Barrow*, P. 79.] A *Vexatious*, *Briery*, *Thorny*, *Perſecuting Presbytery*. [Pulpit Incendiary, P. 26.] *Formidable to States*, and *Free Kingdoms*. [Mr. *Nye*.] The *Aſſembly* is *Antichriſtian*, *Romiſh*, *Bloody*, the *Plagues*, and *Peſts* of the

the Kingdom; *Baal's Priests.* [Gangræna's Second Part, 230.] *The Seed of God in This Nation has had Two Capital Enemies, The* Romish Papacy, *and the* Scotch Presbytery. [*Sterry*'s England's Deliverance, P. 7.] An *Anabaptist* said, that *He hoped to see Heaven and Earth on fire, before* Presbytery *should be settled*; [Edwards his Gangræna.] *Barrow* calls the *Consistorians*, *Dangerous*, and *Pestilent Seducers*; *Ravening Wolves*, which come to Us in *Sheeps Cloathing.*]

This is enough to shew you the Mutual, and Implacable *Enmity*, and *Opposition* of the *Two Grand Parties*, which, you are now perswading your self, might be gratified, by a *Common Indulgence.* Let me further Mind you, that the *Strife* ended not there Neither, but proceeded to *Blood:* And that, so soon, as they had Master'd the *Government*, in a *Combination*, under the Masque of *Reformation*, and *Conscience*; *They parted Interests*, and Upon the Very *same Pretext*, Engaged in a *Second War*; and fell foul, *One* upon the *Other.* Wherein they sufficiently Manifested to the World, that they fought, not for *Forms*, and *Ceremonies*; but for *Booty*, and *Dominion.* No less to the *Scandal* of the *Religion* of *England*,

land, then to the *Ruine* of the *Monarchy*.

N. C. **You are not to stop my Mouth with Instances of** *Tumults*, **and** *Factions*, **in a Peaceable Plea for** *Religion*, **and** *Conscience*.

C. Do not you know, that *Toleration* is as good, as an *Issue* in a Government? *All the Vicious Humours in the whole Body flow that way.* But Suppose it *Conscience*; Are the *Dissenters* ever to be *Reconciled?* Shall we not have *New*, and *Monstrous Opinions* Propagated daily? And will it not be every Man's business, to Advance the Credit, and Authority of his own Party? Where is the *Bond* of *Peace*, in this *Exercise*, and *Latitude* of *Dissention?* The *Unity* of the *Church*, in this *Multiplicity* of *Professions?* Which is the *True Religion*, among so many *divided*, and *contradictory Pretenses* to it? Or rather; Is there *any Religion at all*, where there is neither *Christian Charity*, *Stability* of *Principles*, *Reverence*, or *Agreement*, *in God's Worship?*

N. C. **I hope you will not deny the** *Protestant Interest* **to be the** *Interest* **of the** *True Religion:* **And undoubtedly,** *the bringing of the Protestants into an Union among Themselves, is the Advantage of every*

Liberty of Conſc. p. 58.

every Protestant State,] and of *Protestancy* it self.

C. Past all Dispute; and an *Uniformity of Worship* brings them into that Union; Which is never to be attained, while the World endures, by a *Liberty of Conscience*. How was the *Protestant Interest* (I beseech you) *United* in the late *Dissolution of Government*; When *Every Man did that which was Right in his own Eyes?* Examine the Story well, and you will find Reason to believe, that *the Church of Rome* has gain'd more upon Us, since That *Unsettlement of Ecclesiastical Order*, then perchance from the first hour of the *Reformation*, even unto That very Day. For *Liberty of Conscience*, did no less bring a *Civil War* upon the *Protestant Religion*, then the Pretended *Liberty of the Subject* did upon the *State*. It turned *every Man's Hand against his Brother*. Every Man had a *Religion* to *Himself*, and *every Man's Conscience* (as I told you) *was his Bible*; and We are still to presume, that *like Causes will produce like Effects*.

It is also remarquable, that the *lowdest*, and *boldest Declamers* against the *Orders* of the *Church*, proved likewise, the most *Pragmatical*, and *Audacious Invaders* of

the *Civil Peace*; The *Antecedent Schiſm* ſerving only for a *Prologue* to the *Enſuing Sedition.*

Diſc. of Relig. Par. I. p. 40.

N. C. This Arraignment of their ſuppoſed **Principles**, *about* **Government**, *may haply proceed upon Miſtake. There is Reaſon to think, that the many late Diſputes, about* **Prerogative**, *and* **Liberty**, *are* Controverſiæ ortæ, non primæ; *that they had their Riſe from ſomething elſe, which lies at the Bottom.*

C. This is but *Peradventure I, Peradventure No.* For if a Man may *haply* be in a *Miſtake*, he may *haply* too be in the *Right.* I will grant ye likewiſe, that the Diſputes about *Prerogative*, and *Liberty*, had their *Riſe* from *ſomewhat elſe*, which lay at the *Bottom.* That is to ſay; It was not *Purity of Religion*, *Reformation of the Liturgie*, *Retrenching the Exorbitant Power of Biſhops*, or *Scruple of Conſcience*, (as pretended) that wrought the *Subverſion* of *Church*, and *State*; but it was the *Deſign*, which lay at the *Bottom*, of Carrying on the Great Work of *Overturning the Government*, under Countenance of that Plauſible *Impoſture*, and *Diſguiſe.*

Diſc. of Relig. Par. I. p. 41.

N. C. **Inclinations**, *and* **Intereſts**, *more then* **Speculative Opinions**, *will be*

be found to have born the Sway, and Caused those Active Motions, on the One Hand, and the Other. These **Dogmata**, *or* **Problems** *about* **Obedience**, *and* **Government**, *do but little, where Mens* **Affections**, *and* **Concernments** *do not give them* **Spirit**, *and* **Vigor**.

C. It is most Certain, that *Problems* draw no *Blood*; and We do not read, that ever any Man's *Throat* was cut, with a *Speculation*, or a *Syllogism*; But yet, *Inclinations*, and *Interests* (you allow) may do much, towards *Mischief*: So that, I have what I desire, if I am but able to make it out, that *Liberty of Conscience* will, most indubitably, *beget strong* Inclinations *in the People, to shake off the Yoke of* Government; and that they will not want specious *Appearances* of *Interest* so to Do.

First; The *Servants* of *Jesus Christ* (as the *Non-Conformists* peculiarly stile themselves) have This Advantage of the *Subjects* of *Temporal Princes*; that They serve the *Better Master*: and the *Dignity* of their *Spiritual Profession* supersedes the *Duty* of their *Political Allegeance*. (So often, as they shall think Good, to stand upon That Privilege) By Virtue of which *Prerogative*, they do not only Claim

an

an *Exemption* from the *Obligation*, and *Reach* of *Humane Laws*; But a *Commission* also, and *Authority*, to *Reform those Laws*, (in Case of *Error*, and *Corruption*) according to the *Standard* of the *Gospel*. Now to this *Principle*, and *Doctrine*, do but add *Liberty of Conscience*; and the *People* have *Law*, and *Magistracy* at their *Mercy* already. For *First*; they reckon themselves no further *answerable* either to the *One*, or to the *Other*, then as they find them *Warranted* in, and *Grounded* upon *the Word of God*. And *Secondly*; they may chuse whether or no, they will find any *Law*, or *Magistrate*, whatsoever, to be so *Warranted*, or *Grounded*; And consequently, Whether there
B shall be *any Government*, or *No*. *One Man's Conscience* cannot allow *This*, or *That Injunction* to be *according* to *God's Word*: It may be *Lawful* to *Another*, but it is not so to *Him*; and *He* calls for *Indulgence*, and *Moderation*. *Another Man's Conscience* swears by the most High God, that it is *point-blank Against* it; and nothing will serve *Him*, but utter *Extirpation*. And whatsoever they call *Conscience*, must pass for *Current*. Every Man is to govern himself by *his own Opinion*; not by *Another bodies*. It is no longer

longer *Liberty of Conscience*, if a Man shall be *run down*, and *concluded*, by *Prescription*, *Authority*, *Consent of Fathers*, *Scripture*, *Reason*, and the like, without being *CONVINC'D*.

N. C. **I thought you would have shewed me in what manner, or by what means** *Liberty of Conscience* **comes to turn the** *Hearts*, **and** *Interests* **of** *Subjects* **against their** *Superiors*, **as you said you would.**

C. A little Patience, and I'le be as good as my Word. It has brought us to this pass, already, you see, that it has cast the *Government* upon the *good Nature* of the *Multitude*, and made it purely *dependent* upon the *Breath* of the *People*, whether it shall *Stand*, or *Fall*. So that (in short) the Matter in Question, falls under these *Two Considerations*. *First*; Whether a *People*, left to *Themselves*, either to be under the *Restreint* of *Laws*, or *not*, will not rather agree to *cast off a Government*, then to *defend it*. *Secondly*; Whether they will not, likewise, find a very fair appearance of *Interest*, and *Advantage*, in so doing. The *Former*, I think, will easily be Granted, by any Man that does but advise either with the *Common Practises* of the *World*, or with *Humane*

Humane Frailty: Taking the *World*, either in *Individuals*, or in *Parties*.

What ſays the *Artificer*, the *Tradeſman*, the *Farmer*? Why ſhould *We* be put upon Extremities of *Hard Labour*, *Courſe Fare*, *Riſing early*, and *Going to Bed late*? (and all little enough to keep our Families from ſtarving) any more then *ſuch*, and *ſuch*; that lie wallowing in *Eaſe*, *Abundance*, *Luxury*, and *Riot*? But *This we may thank the Law for*; that has *Appropriated* thoſe *Poſſeſſions* to *Particulars*, which *God Almighty* gave us in *Common*. Why ſhould *We* be the *Drudges* of the Kingdom? (ſays the *Day-Labourer*) The *Law* is *Their Enemy* too, becauſe it keeps them in Awe, that they dare not Steal. It is the ſame Caſe, with *Traytors*, *Felons*, *Vagabonds*, and all *Criminals*. And ſo it is with *Factions*, and *Aſſociated Parties*; *We* might ſet up *This Government*, or *This Church*; and *We*, *T'other*, (ſay they) if it were not for Thoſe Accurſed *Laws*, that make it *Death* to Endeavour ſuch an *Alteration*. This is a True, and Naked Accompt of the Peoples *Thoughts*, and *Reaſonings*, in the Point of *Liberty*, and *Obedience*: and a ſufficient Proof of their *INCLINATION* (not againſt *This*, or *That*; but) againſt

against *any Establishment*: It being the main End of *Government*, to secure the *Community* against the *Encroachments*, and *Attempts* of *Particulars*: Though to the very great *Damage*, and *Ruine*, (many times) of *Private Persons*, and *Parties*.

If you be satisfied now, that the *People* do not Naturally *love Government*, you need not doubt but they will judge it their *INTEREST* to *Remove* it: Every *Male-Content*, enterteining himself with hopes of mending his Condition upon the Change. But Alas! This is not an Undertaking for *Single Persons*, *Small Parties*, or *Petty Factions*, by *Themselves apart*; but some *Common Medium* must be found out, for the *Uniting* of them *All*; which, indeed, is amply provided for, in the Project of *Liberty of Conscience*: and does not only *facilitate* the Work, by drawing the *Disaffected* into a *Body*; but it does also *Countenance*, and *Encourage* it, by *Authorising* the *Separation*.

N. C. But to Me, it seems, on the Contrary, that *an Indulgence would set the Peoples Minds at Liberty from Fears and Contrivances, for the avoidance of Impendent Dangers; and encourage them to* Indulg. & Toler. p. 24

engage

engage the Utmoſt of their Endeavours and Abilities, in the Buſineſſes of Peace, and Security.]

C. As to the *Security*, and *Peace* of the *Publique*, if enough be not already ſaid, you may repair to the Hiſtory of our late Broils, for the reſt: Where you will alſo find the Condition of *Particulars*, to have been every jote as *Diſtracted*, and *Unquiet* (in proportion) as That of the *Government*.

You are to expect *Schiſms* in *Corporations*, *Companies*, *Families*; as well as in *Religious Congregations*: *Diviſions*, as well betwixt *Parents*, *and Children*; *Maſters*, *and Servants*; as betwixt *Rulers*, *and Subjects*: *Feuds* betwixt *Man*, *and Wife*; betwixt *Brethren*, *Kinred*, *Friends*; and all theſe *Differences*, variouſly Influenced, according to the *Benignity*, or *Malignity* of their *Divided Opinions*. Nor will it be any wonder, (upon admittance of *This Liberty*) to have as many *Religions* in a Houſe, as *Perſons*: where the *Husband* draws *one way*, the *Wife*, *another*; and the Reſt of the *Family* have *Their ways* by *Themſelves*, too. And This goes on, (to the utter Extermination of *Order*, *Duty*, and *Quiet*) till they have throughly wearied themſelves, with Toſ-

ſing.

ſing, and Tumbling from *one Sect*, or *Profeſſion*, to *another*. And then, when they are at their Wits End, they commonly take up in the *Church of Rome*, with an *Implicite Faith*, in the Concluſion.

Now if what I have ſaid, may be of force ſufficient to prove, that *Liberty of Conſcience*, is *deſtructive*, both of *Religion*, and *Government*; and of the *Peace* of the *Kingdom*, as well *Private*, as *Publique*. I cannot ſee how it ſhould advance us, (as is earneſtly ſuggeſted) in the Buſineſs of *Trade*, and *Plenty*.

N.C. **We ſhall never have a Flouriſhing** *Trade* **without it:** *Becauſe the Preſſure in theſe things falls generally more upon the* **Trading ſort of Men**, *then any in the Nation. We may ſee it in the Great City, and in all Corporations: It makes many give over* **Trading**, *and Retire; It makes others remove into* Holland, *and other Forreign Parts; as it did heretofore from* **Norwich**, *to the Irrecoverable Prejudice of our* **Cloathing Trade**, *upon the like Occaſion; And it certainly prevents all* **Proteſtant Strangers** *to come to* **Live, and Trade among us.** Liberty of Conſc. p. 58, 59.

C. The Preſſure (you ſay) *falls moſt upon TRADERS*: I anſwer, that you

you begin with a *Non Conſtat*; for *the Thing it ſelf does not appear.* And then, you make *Traders more Scrupulous* then the reſt of the Nation, who are not Generally underſtood to be *more Conſcientious*; as having divers Temptations in the way of their Employments, to ſtrein a Point of *Conſcience* now and then; and they are but *Men*, as well as their *Neighbours.* If your *Obſervation* be *Right*; We may thank the *Nonconforming Miniſters*, who have had the handling of them.

Your urging, that *want of* Liberty *makes many give over* Trading, *and Retire*, does not agree with their Obſervation, that place their Wonder on the other ſide, that ſo many *Hold*; conſidering the Circumſtances of a long, and Expenſive *War* with the *French*, and *Dutch.* (The moſt Expenſive that ever this Kingdom undertook) And Two of the moſt dreadful, and deſtroying *Judgments* that ever Almighty God laid upon this Nation, *i. e. Peſtilence*, and *Fire*, one upon the neck of another.

You object, *the Removal of others into* Holland, *as formerly.* Indeed it is not for the Credit of your Cauſe to mind us of thoſe that formerly left us. Take the

Pains

Peins to read *Bayly's Diſſwaſive*, Pa. 75. and there you ſhall ſee what Work they made in *Holland*: Even ſuch, that *Peters* himſelf was ſcandalized at it; quitted his Congregation, and went to *New-England*. *Bridg*, *Sympſon*, and *Ward*; renounc'd their *Engliſh Ordination*, and took *Ordination* again from the *People*. The *People*, after this, *depoſed* Mr. *Ward*; and the *Schiſm* betwixt *Sympſon's Church*, and *Bridg* his, was ſo fierce, that their Miniſters were fain to quit their Stations; and the *Dutch Magiſtrate* forc'd to interpoſe the *Civil Authority* to quiet them. In *New England*, their Humour, and Behaviour not much Better (according to the Report of the ſame Author, *Pag.* 60, 61.) Of *Forty Thouſand Souls*, not a *Third Part* would be of any Church; and ſuch *Hereſies* ſtarted, as a Man would tremble to Recite. If only ſuch as *Theſe* forſake us, the Land has a good Riddance.

Further; If it was *to the Prejudice of our Cloathing Trade*, (This Separation) Who can help it? It was Their Fault to betray the Intereſt of their Country, by teaching the Myſtery to *Ferreigners*; but no blame at all can be reflected upon the *Government*, for Refuſing *Toleration* to ſuch *Lawleſs*, and *Unruly Libertines*.

Now, *as to the hindring of* Protestant Strangers *from coming over to us, and Trading with us,* It is a clear Mistake, to imagine the Church of *England* to be such a *Bugbear* to those of the *Reformation abroad*, as is pretended. (Which shall hereafter be made appear) It is not the Act of *Uniformity* that hinders *Strangers*, but the want of an Act of *Endenisation*; which, perchance, the Wisdom of future Times will find convenient, for the *Supply*, and *Repair* of that *Depopulation* which is brought upon us by our *Colonies*.

But to come to an Issue. How was it with *Trade*, when *Conscience* took the *full Swinge?* It brought on a *War*; and so it must again, or a *Standing Army* to *prevent* it. How many Families were ruin'd, on the *one side*, with pure *Benevolence* to the *Cause*, in *Contributions*, and *Enterteinments* to *the Devourers of Widows Houses*, and *the Captivaters of silly Women?* And on the *other side*, as many were undone with *Taxes*, and *Plunder*. How went *Trading* on, when all Business was neglected, but Gallopping up and down to *Lectures*, to hear *News*, and *Sedition?* When *Prentices* robb'd their *Masters*, and took *Sanctuary* in the *Service?* When *Publique Faith* was a

Tradesmans

Tradesmans best *Security*; and the whole Nation held *Life*, and *Estate*, at the good Pleasure of a *Close Committee*?

N. C. *Let* **Liberty of Conscience** *be once* FITLY *given, and the Root of all Mens Hopes, and Pretensions, that desire Publique Mischief, is pull'd up.* Liberty of Conscience, p. 58.

C. FITLY, will be well indeed; But (with your Favour) what is the *meaning* of FITLY? How shall we agree upon the *Dos*? Unless you intend, that the *Magistrate* is to continue *Giving*, till the *Subject* shall leave *Asking*. And That must be: For, If ever he thinks of *holding his hand* sooner, he had better have done *nothing*.

N. C. **But what** *Colour* **will there be for any further** *Exception*?

C. The very same they have now. *New Scruples* will bolt *New Demands*: And Beside; I should be glad if you would furnish me with any one Instance, where the *Non-Conformists* were ever the *better* for *Indulgence*.

SECT. XVII.

This Kingdom *has been still the* Worse *for Indulging the* Non-Conformists, *and the* Party *never the* Better. *Which evinces, that* UNIFORMITY *is the* True Interest of This Government, *and Not* Toleration.

C. UPon *Queen Elizabeth's* coming to the *Crown*, Those *Non-Conformists*, that fled, in *Queen Mary's* Days, and *Separating* from the *English Congregation* at *Francfort*, went off to *Geneva*, came back again for *England*: and with their *Libels*, *Clamours*, *Private Consultations*, and *Meetings*, gave Trouble enough to the *Government* for the *Ten first Years* of *her Majesties Reign*; who was, at that time, so beset, with the *Roman Catholiques*, on the *One Hand*; and the *Puritans*, on the *Other*, that she thought it well, upon that Pinch, to *save her self*, without Exercising *Rigor*, and *Severity* upon *either Party*. This *Impunity* gave them the Confidence, a while after, to declare themselves for the *Geneva Discipline*,

pline, and (in the Fourteenth of Her Reign) by an Audacious *Pamphlet* (under the Title of *An Admonition*) to press the *Parliament* to a *Reformation*. The Principal *Abetters* of This *Libel* were *Discover'd*, and *Clapt up*; And soon after, out comes a *Second Admonition*; telling the *Parliament*, in *Plain English*, that, if *Authority* would not, they must set it up *Themselves*. And it was not long, ere they were as good as their Words, by *Erecting* several *Formal Presbyteries* up and down the Kingdom. (As appeared, upon Undeniable *Proof*, and *Confession* of *Parties* to the *Combination*) They had their *Synods*; their *Classical*, and *Provincial Conferences*; Pronounc'd their *Decrees*: Concurring in the main against *Bishops*, *Ceremonies*, and *Common Prayer*. They had their *Agents* throughout the *Kingdom*, upon a strict *Survey* of the *Value* of every *Benefice*; the *Number* of *Parishioners*; Their *Quality*, manner of *Life*, and *Conversation*. Their Book of *Discipline* was long upon the Anvile; but at length, (about 1586.) it was *Finished*, *Communicated*, and *Subscribed*: with a *Promise*, to *observe* it *Themselves*, and *to use all Lawful*, *and* CONVENIENT *Means to further*, *and advance it*. In

Concluſion; the whole Matter came to be Detected; *Cartwright*, *Snape*, and ſeveral of the *Ringleaders*, were *Examin'd*, and *Committed*: Whereupon, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacket*, *Wigginton*, &c. Entred into a *Conſpiracy* for their *Deliverance*; and *to have the Blood of every Man that ſhould dare to give his Vote againſt them*, *in the* Star-Chamber; *nay*, *to Depoſe the Queen her ſelf*, *in Caſe of her Refuſal to promote the Reformation.* And all this, not without *the Privity*, *and Tacit Approbation of the moſt conſiderable Miniſters of the Party.*

Cambden's Eliz. 1591.

This was the bleſſed Fruit of *Lenity*, and *Forbearance* under *Queen Elizabeth*; The *Law Juſtled* out by a *Faction*; A *Plot* upon the *Life* of the *Queen*, and *Counſel*, carried on, under Colour of *Religion*, and *Reformation.*

N. C. **Still I perceive, you pick out the fouleſt** *Caſes*, **and** *Inſtances* **you can lay hold on, to Match with** *Ours.*

C. Is it not rather *your Misfortune*, to write after the *fouleſt Copies*? But to the Buſineſs: What would you ſay, *if his Majeſty now in being*, *had Queen Elizabeth's Game to Play*? Apprehenſions of his *Life*, from *Jeſuits*, Both *Proteſtant*, and *Papiſt*? The *whole Generation* of the

Non-

Non-Conformists United against his *Person*, and *Government*, as well in *Judgment*, as in *Faction*? (which are here divided into a Thousand Disagreements) You would (beyond all peradventure) give the *Government* for *lost*, without an immediate Recourse to an Act of *Indulgence*, and *Accommodation*, to preserve it. But the *Policy* of *Those Times* made Choice rather of *another Course*; Some were *Imprison'd*; *Others*, put to *Death*; according to the Demerit of the Offence.

N. C. **Are you for Punishing** *Inconformity* **with** *Death* **then?**

C. No, by no means; *Hackt*, you know, was not put to *Death* for *Inconformity*, but for *Treason*. And pray let me give You a Brief of his Story, as *Cambden* delivers it.

He was *born* at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*; a *Poor*, *Insolent*, *Ill-natured*, and *Illiterate Fellow*. He married a *Widow*, spent her Fortune in *Riot*; and when he had Nothing else to Trust to, betook himself to the *Imposture* of *Religion*, and an *Affectation* of the *Geneva Discipline*: So far Ingratiating himself with several of the Prime *Zealots* of *That Profession*, that they did him the Honour to make Him of their *Council*, in their *Grand De-* *Cambden's Eliz* 1591.

ſign, (to the *Execution* whereof, He alſo pretended an *Extraordinary Call*, and *Commiſſion* from *Above*) He was (in Concluſion) *Apprehended*, *Charged* with *Treaſon*, found *Guilty*, *Condemn'd*, and *Executed*.

Now to ſhew you the *Devil himſelf*, in the ſhape of *an Angel of Light*, This *Hacket*, as He was upon the *Hurdle*, in the way to his *Execution*, never left Calling upon Almighty God, with *Hideous Outcries*: And Now behold

Ibid. (*ſays he*) the Heavens are Open, and the Son of the moſt High coming down to Deliver me. When he was come to the Place of Execution, He proſecuted his Blaſpemies, with more Horrid, and Furious Exclamations: [Heavenly, and Almighty God; Thou that art the Alpha, and Omega; Lord of Lords, and King of Kings; Thou Eternal God; That knoweſt ME to be the True

True JEHOVAH, that thou haſt ſent; Shew ſome Miracle from Heaven, for the Converſion of Theſe Infidels; and ſave me from my Enemies; Or if thou doſt not, **I'le ſet the Heavens on Fire, and with theſe very Hands caſt Thee out of Thy Throne.**

I ſhould have ſcrupled the bare *Recital* of theſe *Blaſphemies*, were it not for the Deſire I have, to Poſſeſs you with a Due Conſideration of thoſe *Execrable Abuſes*, that are frequently Impoſed upon the World, under the *Viſor* of *Religion*. The *Condition* of the *Kingdom* was doubtleſs very *ſad*, that had ſuch *Turbulent Spirits* to deal withal; and yet we find, that by *One Severe Law* (of the 35th. of the *Queen's Reign*) Her Majeſty gave her *Self*, and her *People*, *Quiet*, as to That Particular, for the whole *Remainder* of her Life.

The *Penalties* (as I remember) were Theſe:

These: Imprisonment without Bail or Main-prize, for being Present at Unlawful Conventicles; The Offender to be discharged, if within Three Months He made his Open Submission, and Acknowledgment, in the Form by the said Statute appointed. But in Case of Recusancy to Conform within That time, He was required to Abjure the Realm And in Case of Refusing to Abjure; Or of not Departing within a limited Time; Or of Returning without Licence, to be proceeded against as a Felon, without Benefit of Clergy.

Disc. of Relig. Par. 1. p. 24.

N. C. And yet you see, for all your *New-modelling* of *Corporations*; *Prohibiting* of *Conventicles*, *Removing Non-Conformists five Miles from the Place of their Usual Supports, and Influences: Nevertheless, the State Ecclesiastical hath advanced little in the Esteem, Acceptance, or Acquiescence of the People.*

C. This is very True; and if *Other Laws* for the Prevention of *Capital Crimes*, were no better *Executed*, then *That* for *Uniformity*, Your Argument would lie as fair every jot, for the *Toleration* of *Murder*, as it does now for *Schism*. But however, it succeeded well with *Queen Elizabeth*;

Elizabeth; and not worse with *King James*, as appears by the Story.

His Majesty (under *Twelve Years Old*) took the Government of *Scotland* into his Hand. The Year following, the Ministers presented a Form of *Church-Policy*, to the Parliament then Sitting; and upon the Debate, matters were agreed, as far as Possible, without Prejudice to the *King's Authority*, and the *Liberty* of the *Subject*: And These Points were either *referr'd* to further Consideration, or *pass'd over* in Silence. The *Assembly* took snuff at this Dilatory way of Proceeding, and, without more adoe, pass'd a Vote, *for doing their own Business, without asking the Parliament leave.* They began with the *Arch-Bishop* of *Glasgow*: and presently fell upon the whole *Order*, requiring Them to renounce their *Temporal Titles*, Their *Civil Jurisdiction*; To decline their *Votes* in *Parliament*, and to submit themselves to a *Retrenchment* of their *Episcopal Revenues.* Their next step, was the *Demolishing* of the *Cathedral* at *Glasgow*: But when the *Quarriers* were just entring upon the Work, the *Tradesmen* of the Town, in an Uproar, threaten'd the Undertakers, and so they quitted it: But *Anno* 1577

not

not without a Complaint to the Council, of the Insolence of the *Mutineers*; Which came to This Issue, his Majesty justifi'd the *Tradesmen*, and forbad the *Ministers* any further meddling in the Destroying of *Churches*. And This was all the Cheque they had for so lewd an Outrage.

In 1579, The King wrote to the *Ministers*, not to prejudge the Decisions of the *Parliament*, then approaching, by the Conclusions of their *Assembly*; and to Forbear the Practice of any *Innovations*, till their *Meeting*. Whereupon, instead of *Complying*, they proceeded to a Positive *Resolution* of *Adhering* to their *Former Conclusions*; Question'd the *Arch-Bishop* of *St. Andrews*, for giving his *Voice* in *Parliament*; and soon after, by an Act of *Assembly*, They commanded the *Bishops*, under Pain of *Excommunication*, not to Exercise the Office of *Pastors*, in any sort whatsoever, without *Licence* from the *General Assembly*; and further directing, the *Patrimony* of the *Church* to be so disposed of, as they should judg Reasonable at their next *Convention*: Thus, by Degrees, growing *Bolder* and *Bolder*, upon *Forbearance*.

The Particulars of their *Usurpations* would

would be too tedious; I could otherwiſe tell you of their *Juſtification* of the *Treaſonous Seizure* of the *King* at *Ruthuen*; Their *Propoſitions*, and *Compleints* in 1583, with the King's *Gentle Return*; Their *Covenants*, and *Seditious Practices*, even to the Encouraging, and Avowing of *Open Rebellion*. And ſtill the more *Plyant*, and *Eaſie* his Majeſty was, The more *Contumacious*, and *Untractable* were theſe People. In the End; What with the *Tumult* at *Edinburgh*, in 1596; and the *Miniſters Band* of *Confederacy*, immediately upon it; The King was forced upon a Reſolution of *Rigor*, and *Severity*; *and* (as *Spotſwood* obſerves) *he received little or no Oppoſition thereafter.*

At his Majeſties Entry upon the Government of *England*, the Ceremonies of his firſt *Reception*, and *Inauguration* were ſcarce over, but He was aſſaulted with *Petitions*, and *Importunities* about the *Reformation* of the *Government*, and *Liturgie* of the *Church*: in the Name of Thouſands of Godly, Learned, and Conſcientious Men, that could not Conform: Whereupon, a *Proclamation* was Iſſued for a *Conference* to be held at *Hampton-Court*, in *January*, 1604. So many

many *Biſhops*, and *Deans* appointed for the *Church*; and for the *Petitioners*, there appeared, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparkes*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chadderton*.

The Points in Controverſie, were Particularly, and Solemnly Debated; and in the End, ſuch Satisfaction given even to the *Plaintiffs* Themſelves, that they all promis'd Obedience; and Dr. *Sparkes* became, afterward, an *Advocate* for the Orders of the *Church*, and wrote a *Treatiſe* for *Conformity*. *Knewſtubb* indeed boggled a little, and deſired to know, *How far an Ordinance of the Church was Binding, without Offence to CHRISTIAN LIBERTY?* Upon which General Queſtion, The King turn'd ſhort, and Anſwer'd him; *Le Roy s' aviſera*: *Let us have no more of* Thoſe Queſtions, *How far you are bound to* Obey, *what the Church has once* Ordeined; But *Conform* at your *Peril*.

While the Buſineſs was freſh, they made a faint Pretenſe of Appealing to *another Conference*: but upon ſecond Thoughts, they let it totally fall, and never gave the King any further Trouble upon That Subject.

Thus far, you ſee, the *Government* has been *preſerv'd* by ſtrictneſs of *Order*, and

Uni-

Uniformity. We come now to thoſe Fatalities of *Tenderneſs*, and *Relaxation* that *deſtroy'd* us.

N. C. **You never conſider, that the** *Non-Conformiſts* **are more** *Numerous*, **and** *Powerful* **now then formerly they were, by many Degrees: and that the Diſſenters Cauſe has got Ground upon the Church-Intereſt, ever ſince. But follow your Diſcourſe.**

C. In the *Firſt* of *the late King*; was exhibited, in Parliament, *A Petition*, (among other Matters) *for the Propagation of the Goſpel, and the Reſtoring of Silenc'd Miniſters*; to which, his Majeſty, return'd a *Gracious*, and *Yielding Anſwer*, which produc'd a *Remonſtrance* of *Miſcarriages* in *Government*; Inſomuch, that his Majeſty was forced to *Diſſolve That Parliament*.

In the *Second* Year of his Reign; He call'd *another Parliament*, which purſu'd the ſame Method, and went a little Higher then the Former: So that the King was fain to *Diſſolve That* too.

In the Year following; the King call'd *Another*; and upon their *Meeting*, went ſomewhat a quicker way to work with them: Minding them, in a ſhort, and pertinent

pertinent Speech, of their Paſt Failings; adviſing them to ſteer a more Peaceable Courſe for the Future, and not to put him upon Extremities, to provide for the Safety of his People. This change of Stile, and *Reſolution*, in his Majeſty, drew Immediately from the *Commons*, a Grant of *Five Subſidies*. The King was too Generous, and Candid to take That *Preſent* for a *Bait*; and Relapſing into his former Temper of *Charity*, and *Softneſs*, was preſently accoſted with *The Petition of Right*; which, after ſome *Difficulty*, and *Demur*, His Majeſty *paſſes*: And after *This*, followed a *Petition*, *Remonſtrance*, and *Proteſtation*, which put an End alſo to *That Convention*.

Look now a little into the *Scotch Affairs*, and obſerve the Growth of the *Non-Conformiſts Demands*, from one thing to another; till in the End, by virtue of what the King Granted them, they poſſeſt themſelves of all the Reſt. *In their* Tumults (ſays his Majeſty) *they complein'd only of the* Service Book. *In their* Petition *exhibited to the* Counſel: *they complein'd of the* Service-Book, *and* Canons. *In their* Covenant *they complein of, and* Abjure *the* Five Articles *of* Perth, (*although Eſtabliſh't, firſt by a* General Aſſembly,

King's large Dec. p. 73.

Aſſembly, *and Then by* Parliament) *After This, they complein of the* High Commiſſion; *And Then, of* Prelates *Sitting in* Civil Judicatories.

Hereupon, *His Majeſty Commiſſions* Marquis Hamilton, *with full Power, and Authority, to Conclude, and Determine all ſuch Things as ſhould be found for the Good, Quietneſs, and Peace of that Kingdom*: Directing him alſo to take the mildeſt Courſe that might be, for the Calming of thoſe Commotions. And what Effect had this *Peaceable Inclination* of His Majeſty, upon the *Covenanters*, but to blow them up into more Seditious, and bolder Practiſes, againſt the King's Authority, and the Publique Peace? They purſue their Demands, and Clamour for a *Free General Aſſembly*, and a *Parliament*. His Majeſty gives them all their Askings: Indicts a *Free General Aſſembly*, and a *Parliament*; *Diſcharges* the *Service-Book*, the *Canons*; *High-Commiſſion*; The urging of the *Five Articles* of *Perth*: *Commands* the *Subſcribing* of the *Confeſſion of Faith*, and the *Band* thereto annexed; in the very Form which they pretended to Impoſe; And offers them an Act of *Indemnity* for what was paſt. In all which *Condeſcentions*,

Large Declar. p. 77.

Ib. p. 137.

the King's *Patience*, and *Mercy* only served to *heighten*, and *confirm* those Men in their *Undertaking*, and to expose his *Royal Dignity*, to *Contempt*. In the conclusion, the King had so far gratified their Importunities, that they had nothing left to Quarrel upon, but His Majesties refusal to *Abolish Episcopacy*, and to admit the Authority of their *Lay-Elders*.

From hence, they brake out into open *Rebellion*; and (when the King had them directly at his Mercy) upon the Interview of the two Armies near *Berwick*, such was his *Tenderness*, that upon their Supplication for a *Treaty*, he Trusted them again, and Concluded a *Pacification*; whereof the *Covenanters* observ'd not so much as *One Article*.

Upon his Return to *London*, His Majesty (as is elswhere observed) passes the *Triennial Bill*; *Abolishes* the *Star-Chamber*, and *High-Commission Court*: Passes an Act for the *Continuance* of the *Parliament*. Not to insist upon the several other *Concessions*, concerning *Ship-money*, *Forests*, and *Stannary Courts*; *Tunnage* and *Poundage*, *Knighthood*, &c.

Now in *Requital* of these *Benefits*, the Faction *Claps up*, and *Prosecutes* his Majesties *Friends*; *Prefers*, and *Enlarges* his *Enemies*:

Enemies; *Rewards* the *Scots*; Entertains their *Commissioners*; Votes Them their *Dear Brethren*, for *Invading* Us; Calls in all *Books*, and *Proclamations* against them. They take away the *Bishops Votes*; Impose a *Protestation* upon the People; Take away the Earl of *Strafford*'s Life; Charge Twelve of the *Bishops* with *Treason*; Declare the King's *Proclamations* to be *False*, *Scandalous*, and *Illegal*; Keep his Majesty out of his own *Towns*; and Seize his *Arms*, and *Ammunition*. They present Him with Nineteen *Propositions* for the *Resignation* of his *Royal Authority*. They Vote a *General*, and Raise an *Army* against him. They Usurp the Power of the *Militia*, and give the *King Battel*; *Levy Moneys*; and Declare the *Queen* Guilty of *Treason*.

After all These Usurpations upon the *Civil Power*, They are put to't to bring the Cause of *Religion* once again upon the Stage: They enter into a *Covenant*; and call in the *Scots* again; They *Abolish* the *Common Prayer*; secure the *Person of the King*; Share the *Revenues* of the *Church*, and *Crown*. They *Sequester*, *Banish*, and *Imprison* his Majesties *Adherents*; and in the Conclusion, *Sell*, *Depose*, and *Murder* their *Sovereign*.

This was the Fruit of that Pious, and Unfortunate Prince his *Clemency*, and *Indulgence*.

Now to bring the Instance home to the present Times: What could be more *Pious*, *Gracious*, or *Obliging*, then His Majesties *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, in Favour of the *Non-Conformists*? All that was possible for the King to do, in Consistence with *Conscience*, *Honour*, and the *Peace* of his *Dominions*, His Majesty has therein given them a frank Assurance of. (with their *Lives*, and *Estates*, over and above, in the Act of *Oblivion*) And are they one jote the *Quieter* for all This? No, but the *Worse*: for no sooner was the King's Tenderness, in That Particular, made Publique, but the Generality (even of those that had lately Entred into a Regular, and Dutiful *Compliance* with the *Orders* of the *Church*) started into a *new Revolt*: which proves sufficiently, the *Benefit*, and *Necessity* of a strict *Rule*, and the *hazzard* of a *Toleration*: For rather then abide the *Penalty* of the *Act*, they could *Conform*; but upon the least Glimpse of a *Dispensation*, they *Relapse* into a *Schism*.

Neither

Neither do I find, that they were less Troublesom, *before* the Act of *Uniformity*, when they Preach'd at *Randome*, then they have been *since*; Nor, to say the Truth, that they have much more Cause of *Compleint*, *Now*, then they had *Then*. For what are they the worse, for a *Penalty*, that is never *Executed*?

But if you will have a True Measure of their *Moderation*, and *Good Nature*: I pray'e take notice of their Proceedings upon *His Majesties Commission, for the Review of the Book of Common-Prayer. We will appoint* (says His Majesty, in his *Declaration* concerning *Ecclesiastical Affairs*) *an Equal Number of Learned Divines of* Both Perswasions, *to* Review *the* * *same, and to make such* ALTERATIONS *as shall be thought most* NECESSARY. So that the *Alterations* were to be agreed upon by *BOTH PARTIES*, and found likewise to be *NECESSARY*. Now instead of *Alterations*, *joyntly agreed upon*, They Publish a *Complete Liturgy* of *their own*; indeed a *New Directory*; but under the Title of *The REFORMATION of the Liturgie*. (which in all their Books, signifies *ABOLITION*) Give me the favour, next, to observe upon some of

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* The Liturgy.

their *NECESSARY Alterations.* They have turn'd *WEDDED Wife*, into *MARRIED. DOEST THOU Believe?* into *DO YOU Believe? All this I STEDFASTLY Believe*, into *All this I UNFEIGNEDLY Believe.* Theſe are ſome of the *Important Scruples*, that are caſt into the *Balance*, againſt the *Unity* of the *Church*, and the *Peace* of the *Kingdom.* What is This, but to make *Sport* with *Authority*, and *Conſcience? Laws* muſt be *Suſpended*; *Princes*, *Vilified* and *Importun'd*; becauſe, forſooth, the *Godly Party* may not be *Govern'd* by *Laws of their own making:* Nay, by *Words* of their *own chuſing* too; So that we are like to have a *Schiſm*, for *Syllables*, as well as for *Ceremonies.* For what is the Difference betwixt *WEDDED*, and *MARRIED*, but that the *One* wears the Stamp of the *Law-Makers*, and the *Other*, of the *Law-Menders?*

Is it not now evident, that they are the *worſe* for *good uſage?* And that they have ever been ſo? You ſee the Effects of keeping to a *Rule*, in *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James:* And we have ſince felt, to our Coſt, the Effects of a *Relaxation:* which abundantly ſatisfies me, That

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UNIFORMITY is the true Interest of This Government, and not TOLERATION.

N. C. Uniformity is the *Interest* of *This Kingdom*, as it is of *any other*, where there is any fair Possibility of Procuring it. But the Principles of *Dissent* have taken such Root in this Land, that you may as well think of *Depopulating* the *Nation*, as of *Uniting* it, upon the Points in Question.

C. But I am otherwise perswaded; and that the Party of *Non-Conformists* is not so considerable, as you make it. B

SECT. XVIII.

The Party *of* Scrupulous, *and* Conscientious Non-Conformists, *is neither* NUMEROUS, *nor* DANGEROUS. A

C. I Am apt to believe that Party is not so *Numerous* as you represent it, for many Reasons. First; I take *English Mens Consciences*, and their *Neighbours*, to be much of a *Make*: And I do not find the Subject of *Our Contro-*

verſie, to be made Matter of *Conſcience*, by any *other ſort* of *Chriſtians* whatſoever, out of his Majeſties Dominions.

N. C. 'Tis well we have Good Authority to the Contrary. The *Preface* to the *Directory* aſſures us, that *The* Liturgy *uſed in the Church of* England, *hath proved an Offence, not only to the Godly at* Home; *but alſo to the* Reformed Churches Abroad. And *Smectymnuus* tells the *Parliament*, (Pag. 10.) that *there is ſuch a vaſt difference between* It, *and the* Liturgies *of all other* Reformed Churches, *as that it keeps them at a Diſtance from us.*

C. We'l talk of That anon; and in the mean time (with your good leave) purſue what we have now before us. Another thing that perſwades me the *Conſcientious* number of *Diſſenters* cannot be very great, is This. The *Law* has made an Ample *Proviſion* for their *Relief*: Leaving *every Houſhold*, with *Four more*, at Liberty to Worſhip according to their own way. So that the *Laity* has no Pretenſe of Compleint; Eſpecially, thoſe that plead for the *Ordination* of their own *Miniſters*, and maintein, that *Seven Perſons make a Full, Miniſterial, and Completely Organiz'd Church.*

A Man might make an Exception to your *Accompt* too, upon the ſcore of *Old Reckonings*; for you have ever had the faculty of *Multiplication*. Your *Thouſands* at *Hampton-Court*, came to a matter of *Nine and Forty*: And we remember very well, your old way of *Perſonating Petitions*, from *Multitudes* of the *Godly*, and *Well-affected*, in both *City*, and *Country*; when, effectually, the poor Innocent Papers never Travell'd farther, then from the *Cloſe Committee*, to the *Lobby*.

N. C. **If you will not Credit** *Report*, **believe your** *Eyes*. **Do you not find our** *Meetings Thronged*, **and many of your** *Churches Empty?*

C. Somewhat, of Both, I muſt Confeſs: but yet I am likewiſe inform'd, that you *ſhew* divers of theſe *Meetings*, as *Peters* did his *Rings*, and *Bodkins*, at *ſeveral Places*, ſeveral times over and over, to make a *Noiſe*, ond increaſe the *Reputation* of your *Party*.

To contract the Diſcourſe. There is a loud *Clamour*, and the *Miniſters* make it. And Theſe too, that ſtickle in the Cauſe, none of the moſt Conſcientious neither, unleſs they have a *Goſpel* we never heard of; to *Juſtifie Diſobedience* in *Themſelves*;

ſelves; the *Provoking* of it in *Others*; The *Diſturbing* of the *Publique Peace*, and the Sowing of *Diſſention* betwixt *Prince*, and *People*: Which is manifeſtly the *Scope* of their *Writings*, and *Deſigns*.

N. C. **That Undertaking goes ſomewhat too far, to pronounce upon their** *Deſigns*. **Do you pretend to know their** *Hearts* **then?**

C. Yes; and with very good Authority, If a Man may be allow'd to judge what Reaſonable Men aim at, from *deliberate Words*, and *Actions*, that lead naturally, to ſuch and ſuch Certain Ends. And this Humour (I tell ye) of *Aſperſing* the *Government*, and *Teizing* the *Multitude*, runs through all their Papers. I durſt appeal to your own Soul, Whether you your ſelf can Imagine, that a *Twentieth Part* of the preſent *Plaintiffs* in Matter of *Conſcience*, are truly acted, and poſſeſt with that *Scrupuloſity* they pretend to. Alas! Alas! You talk of *Conſcience*: 'Tis not what every Man *Thinks*, or *Says*, that is preſently *Conſcience*. We are impos'd upon, by *Phanſie*, *Artifice*, or *Deluſion*. *Some Deceive Themſelves*, and *Others Couſen Us*. In one Word; Whatſoever is not of *Conſcience*, in this *Medly*, is *Faction*: And

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undoubtedly, the *Conscientious Party* has but a slender share in the Mixture.

As *That Party* is not *Numerous*, so neither is it *Dangerous*: upon a Principle of *Honesty*, and *Religion*. No Man of *Conscience*, can either *desire* to *Embroyl* the Kingdom, or *expect* to be the *Better* for't. But still *have a care how ye take every thing for Gold, that Glisters. Conscience* was the *Subject* of the *last Quarrel*; *Religion*, the *Pretext*; *Popery* the *Bug-bear*; And the Issue of it was Dreadful. Consider with your selves; You have many of the *same Persons* to lead you on; And *They* have the very *same Matter* too, to work upon. *You meant no hurt to the last King*, you say; And yet you ruin'd him: You may perchance *Intend* as *little Harm* to *This*, and yet *do him* as *much*. And what amends is it, when the Government is laid again in *Dust*, and *Desolation*, to cry, *You were Overseen? If you had thought it should ever have come to This, you would have cut off your Hands, or Tongues*; and I know not what. Look Back; and Tremble at the Course you are now upon; for *you are*, Questionless, *in the very Track of the late Rebellion*. And one may, without Breach of Charity, conclude,

conclude, that *No Man that was an Active Instrument in the last War, can acquit himself of a most Prodigious Impiety, and Ingratitude, in reviving, and prosecuting the same Interest, and Method now against the* SON, *by which, he notoriously contributed toward the Death of the* FATHER.

SECT. XIX.

The Non-Conformists Appeal, *from the* Government, *and* Discipline *of the* Church *of* England, *to the* Judgment, *and* Practise *of the* Reformed Churches BEYOND THE SEAS; Examined, *and* Submitted *to* Censure.

C. IT is observable, that throughout the whole Quarrel against the *Orders*, and *Government* of the *Church* of *England*, the *Non-Conformists* still fly for *Countenance* to the *Judgment* of the *Reformed Churches*, *Abroad*: And so likewise in the Question of *Toleration*, they Insist much upon the *Practise*, and *Tenderness* of *Other Churches*: As if the *Ecclesiastical State* of *This Kingdom*, were as *Singular*,

Singular, for *Tyranny*, and *Corruption*, as, in Truth, the *Litigants Themſelves* are for *Contumacy*, and *Diſobedience*.

In the *Anſwer* of the *Two Houſes* to the *Scots Declaration*, 1642. This Government, by *Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *&c.* is Declared to be *Evil*, juſtly *Offenſive*, and *Burdenſom* to the Kingdom; a great Impediment to the *Reformation*, and Growth of *Religion*: and *Reſolved* it is, that *it ſhall be taken away*: With a Regard to the Introducing of *another Government*, more apt to procure an Union, with the Church of *Scotland*, and *OTHER REFORMED CHURCHES ABROAD*. Ex. Coll. p. 604.

And the *Miniſters*, in the *Petition for Peace*, ſing the ſame Note too: *If Men* (ſay they) *muſt be caſt out of the* Church, *and* Miniſtry, *becauſe they are not wiſer then the Paſtors of moſt of the REFORMED CHURCHES*, *&c.* As who ſhould ſay; *The Church of England* is the *only Proteſtant Church* in the *Chriſtian World*, that pretends to This Way of Proceeding; and the *Proteſtants Abroad*, are all of the *Non-Conformiſts ſide*. Let this Matter be fairly Examin'd, I beſeech you, and we ſhall quickly ſee where the Fault lies. P. 13.

In the firſt Place; What is the Judgment

ment of the *Reformed Churches abroad*, touching the *English Episcopacy*?

N. C. **You may read their** *Judgments* **in their** *Practises*; **Or 'tis but looking into the** *Reformation*, **in** *France*, *Holland*, **and the** *Neighbourhood*, **and you may resolve your self, in that Point.**

C. Truly I find nothing at all to your *Advantage*, which way soever I look; *Luther* himself distinguishes betwixt *Popish Tyrants*, and *True Bishops*, and professes to Condemn them as *Popish*, not as *Bishops*.

Apol. Conf. p. 137.

De Reform. adverſ. Eccleſ. p. 95. The Authors of the *Augustane Confession* profess; that they would willingly preserve the *Eccleſiastical*, and *Canonical Politie*, if the *Bishops* would cease to *Tyrannize* over their *Churches*.

Bucer declares himself wholly, for *Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*: And *Melanthon* to *Luther*; *You would not Imagine* (says he) *how some People are* Nettled, *to see* Church-Polity *restor'd*: *as if it were the* Romish Sovereignty *again*. *Ita de* Regno *suo*, *non de* Evangelio, *dimicant Socii nostri*. *As if the* Quarrel *were* Dominion, *not* Religion.

Calvin acknowledges, that *the Ancient Government*, *by* Arch-Bishops, *and* Bishops; *and the* Nicene Constitution *of* Patriarchs,

Patriarchs, *was for* Orders *sake*, *and* Good Government. And delivers himself to *Cardinal Sadolet*, with an *Anathema* upon *the Opposers of that* Hierarchy, *which submits it self to* Jesus Christ.

Zanchie (the Compiler of the *Gallican Confession*) observes a Change of *Name*, rather then of *Office*, throughout most of the *German Churches*: As *Super-Intendents*, and *General-Super Intendents*, in the place of *Bishops*, and *Arch-Bishops*: Acknowledging that *by the Consent of* Histories, Counsels, *and the* Ancient Fathers, Those Orders *have been Generally* allowed *by all* Christian Societies. *Where they are in Exercise, let them continue; and where, by the Iniquity of the Times, they have been abolish'd, they ought to be restor'd.*

Beza (the rigid Successor of *Calvin*) in excuse to the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, for meddling beyond his Sphere:——*We do not charge* (says he) *all* Arch-Bishops, *and* Bishops, *with* Tyranny.—*The Church of* England *hath afforded many* Learned *Men, and many Glorious Martyrs of That Function. If That Authority be there still, may a perpetual Blessing go along with it.* This, in the Name of *the whole Church of Geneva*, and Addressed, *To the Primate*

of

of all England. Totius Angliæ Primati. *Saravia*, arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the *Apoſtles Canons*, *Beza* returns him This Anſwer. *This is no more, then what we wiſh might be reſtor'd to all Churches.* [Quid aliud hic ſtatuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Eccleſiis reſtitutum cupimus?

Beza cont. Sarav. p. 116.

View of the Government, p. 5.

The Three Kingdoms of *Swede*, *Denmark*, and *Norway* (as Mr. *Durell* obſerves) retein the *Order* ſtill, of *Biſhops*, and *Arch-Biſhops*. In the *Proteſtant Cantons* of *Switzerland*, there is alſo a *Subordination* of *Miniſters*. And ſo in the *Palatinate*; in *Heſſen*; the Duke of *Brandenburgh*'s Territories; *Anhalt*, *Bremen*, *Poland*, *Lithuania*, &c.

Ibid. p. 6.

Ibid. p. 122

Come we now into *France*, *Holland*, and *Geneva*. And firſt hear *Mr. du Boſc* of the *Reformed Church* of *Caen*. *Well-ordered* Epiſcopacy *hath moſt Important, and Conſiderable Utilities, which cannot be found in the* Presbyterian Diſcipline.

Ibid. p. 125

Mr. Gaches, one of the *Miniſters* of *Charenton*. *The beſt Men in our Churches* (ſays he) *have honour'd the* Prelates *of* England.—*The Name of* Schiſm *may do more harm to the Church in one Year; then the Exceſs of* Epiſcopal Authority *can do in an Age.* And again: *Sin hath brought*

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in the Necessity *of* Government; *and the* Failings *of* Ministers *make the* Order *of* Bishops Necessary.

Mr. le Moyn, of *Rouen*, pronounces it to be *want of* Prudence, *and* Charity, *if any seek the Ruine of* Bishops. [*I trust that his Majesty will be sure to re-establish the* Authority *of the* English Church, *and use his Power for a perfect Re-union of all the* Reformed Churches; *which that he may Effect, His Majesty must preserve his* Bishops. Ibid. 138. Ibid. 140.

I hold it impossible (says *Mr. Gayon* of *Bourdeaux*) *that* England *can ever be* quiet, *and* flourish, *but under the* Episcopal Government. Ibid. 146.

In *Holland*, *Bogermannus*, (the *President* of the *Synod* at *Dort*) upon a Suggestion from the Bishop of *Landaff*, how fit a Remedy *Episcopacy* would be for the Suppression of *Heresies*, and *Schism*, made this Reply; *Domine, non sumus adeò fœlices*] We are not so happy, My Lord. And for *Geneva*; we have the Voices of the Principals of that Church also, for the *Authority*, and *Advantage* of *Episcopal Government*. So that if you be no better *Seconded* against our *Ceremonies*, then you are against our *Bishops*, you have the whole Stream of *Protestant Divines* against Ibid. 118.

you. This is according to what I have formerly had occasion to deliver, upon *This Subject.*

Petition for Peace, p. 5.

N. C. We do dissent, upon just Reasons, from the **Ecclesiastical Hierarchy**, *or* **Prelacy**, *(DISCLAIMED IN COVENANT) as it was Stated, and Exercised in These Kingdoms; yet do not, nor ever did renounce the* **True, Ancient, Primitive Episcopacy**, *as it was* **Balanced**, *or* **Menaged** *by a* **Due Commixtion** *of* **Presbyters** *therewith.*

C. We are not here to Debate the *Qualifications*, and *Limits* of the *Episcopacy* you pretend to: but to proceed, having made it appear, that the *Hierarchy*, which, (under Colour of *Reduction*, or *Commixtion*) you formerly *rooted out*, and are now again *undermining*; is That very *Hierarchy*, which you have now heard *Reverenced*, and *Recommended* by so many *Venerable Testimonies.* Or, if after all This, you can but produce *one Publick Act* of any *Protestant Church*, beyond the Seas, in favour of your Claim, do it; and save your Party the Credit, of not being *Single*, and *Particular* in your *Schism.* What have you next to say against our *Ceremonies?*

N. C. All the **best Reformed Churches** *of*

of **Chriſt**, (*who only are Competent Judges in this Caſe, and to whoſe* **Judgment**, *and* **Example**, *we ought rather to Conform our ſelves, in* **Ceremonies**, *then to the* **Synagogue** *of* **Anti-Chriſt**) *do eſteem thoſe* **Ceremonies**, **Needleſs**, **Inexpedient**, *and Fit to be* **Aboliſhed**: *How the Churches of other Countries approve of them, may appear ſufficiently by this, that they have baniſhed the uſe of them out of their Aſſemblies.* The Old Non-Conformiſt, p. 21.

C. Are they only *NEEDLESS*, *INEXPEDIENT*, and *FIT* to be *Aboliſh'd* then? I thought you would have found them abſolutely *UNLAWFUL*, *IDOLATROUS*, and upon pein of *DAMNATION*, not to be *RETEINED*. According to This Meaſure, What will become of the whole Frame of our Government, if it ſhall take you in the head, to ſay the ſame thing of every *Law*, and *Conſtitution* of the Land? *Ceremonies* will not down with you, becauſe they are *Needleſs*, *Inexpedient*, *&c.* I beſeech you, ſhew me the *Needfulneſs* of *Killing*, and *Plundring*, or the *Expedience* of *Diſſolving Publique Laws*, and *Depopulating Kingdoms*: And yet Theſe are Matters you can *Swallow*, even without *Chewing*. *Needleſs*? And

Inexpedient? Softly, I beseech you; you are for teaching your *Governours* more *WIT*, as well as more *Religion*, and *Conscience*.

N. C. **Keep to your *Text* I pray'e; for we are not now upon the *Lawfulness* of the *English Ceremonies*; but upon an Enquiry, What *Entertainment* they receive in the *Judgment*, and *Practise* of *other Reformed Churches*: without engaging our selves in any other Consideration of their *Reason*, and *Convenience*. I say, *they are baniſh'd out of their Assemblies*, and *you* are at *Liberty* (if you can) to prove the *Contrary*.**

C. Let us first see how far we agree upon the Allowance of any *Ceremonies* at all, and where to place the *Right*, and *Authority* of Imposing them.

The Church of England *thinks it convenient, that every Country should use such* Ceremonies *as they shall think best, to the setting forth of God's Honour, and Glory, &c.* Which is according to the sense of *Other Reformed Churches*, as appears by their several *Confessions*.

With *Us* agrees, first, the Church of *Helvetia*. [*Churches have always used their Liberty in* Rites, *as being things* Indifferent. *which we also do at this Day.* That

Cap. 27.

of

of *Bohemia* likewiſe: [Humane Traditi- Cap. 15.
ons, *and* Ceremonies, *brought in by a Good Cuſtom, are with an Uniform Conſent to be reteined in the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies of Chriſtian People, at the Common Service of God.* The *Gallican*; [*Every Place may* Art. 32.
have their Peculiar Conſtitutions, *as it ſhall ſeem meet for them.* The *Belgique*; Art. 32.
[*We receive thoſe Laws that are fit, either to cheriſh or maintein Concord, or to keep us in the Obedience of God.* That of *Auſpurgh*; [Eccleſiaſtical Rites, *which are Ordein'd by* Man's Authority, *and tend to Quietneſs, and Good Order in the Church, are to be Obſerved.* That of *Saxony*; [*For* Art. 20.
Order *ſake, there muſt be ſome* Decent, *and* Seemly Ceremonies. That of *Swethland*; *Such Traditions of Men, as agree* Cap. 14.
with the Scriptures, and were Ordeined for Good Manners. and the Profit of Men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God then of Man.

N. C. The Queſtion is not, about an *Agreement* in *Ceremonies* that may be Exerciſed without *Offence*, either to *God*, or *Man*; (according to your Inſtances) but about their Liking, or Diſlike, of Thoſe in Practiſe among Us: As the *Surplice*; *Kneeling* at the *Communion*; The *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, and the like.

C. As to the *SURPLICE*; *Mr. Durell* tells you, that the *Churches* that *Conform* to the *Confession* of *Augsburgh*, have the very same *Ceremonies* with the *Church* of *England*: And *Surplices* in many Places. And further; that a *National Assembly* at *Charenton*, Anno 1631. *hath declared, that there is neither* Idolatry, *nor* Superstition *in That Worship.* The *Protestant Ministers* also in *Bohemia*, *Lithuania*, *Prussia*, make no Scruple at all of *Preaching* in *Surplices*, whensoever they are called upon to *Preach* where *Surplices* are used. Nay, *Calvin* himself, does not approve of *Hooper*'s violent *Inconformity* in that Point. [*De Pileo, & Veste Linea, maluissem (ut illa etiam non probem) non usque adeo ipsum pugnare: Idque nuper suadebam.* And let *Mr. Baxter* pin the Basket. *Some Decent Garment is necessary; either the Magistrate, or Minister himself, or the Associated Pastors must determine what. If the Magistrate or Synod tie all to one Habit,* (Suppose it *Indecent*) *yet this is but an Imprudent use of Power, and the thing it self being* Lawful, I would *Obey*, and *use that Garment.*

View of the Government, p. 5.

Ibid. p. 24. 25.

Ep. Bullingero, fol. 98

Baxter's Five Disputations, disp. 5. cap. 2. sect. 40.

N. C. You only make mention, when

where it has been *used*, and *permitted*; but you take no Notice where it has been *Rejected*. And then the Personal *Authorities* you cite, in *favour* of it, declare their *Judgments* to be still *against* it.

C. But only so against it, as not to Allow of a *Separation*, upon *That Scruple*. Now whereas you object the *Refusal*, or *Rejection* of *it*, elsewhere: It does not follow, that every Church *disallows*, what it does not *Practise*: And it shall content me, to find the *Practise* of so *many Churches for* us, and *None*, *against* us.

As to *KNEELING* at the *Communion*; the *Bohemian Churches* use that *Posture*, and so do the Churches of *Poland*. With whom, the *French*, and *Dutch* do so far agree, as *In hoc Ritu, suam cuique Ecclesiæ Libertatatem salvam relinquere*. To leave every Church at its own Freedom, in that Particular.] *Mr. Baxter* in his *Five Disputations*, does also profess, *that rather then disturb the Peace of the Church, he would* Kneel *too*; How hardly soever he may think of the Imposition. So that in the Case of *Kneeling*, likewise, we have *several* of the *Reformed Churches* that joyn with us

in the *Practise* of it, and not so much as any *one* of them, that appears in our *Condemnation*.

View of the Government, p. 41.

Touching the Use of the *CROSS* in *Baptism*; (beside the undeniable *Antiquity* of the Custom) you may hear from *Mr. Durell*, that *The Reformed Churches of the Confession of* Augsburgh, *do for the most part, use it*; *and that at* Paris, *many Children of the Church of* Charenton, *have been Baptized in the Chappels of the* English Embassadours *there, according to the* Rites *of the Church of* England. And moreover, that only the *Nonconforming English*, and *Scotch oppose* it. I could enlarge my self, upon very good Authority, to the justification of our way of Worship, *throughout*, in every *Particular* of your *Exceptions*; but I will rather chuse to encounter *all your Objections at once*; by proving, that the *Protestant Churches, Abroad*, have as great a *Reverence* for the *Authority, Rites*, and *Ceremonies* of the *Church* of *England*, in the whole Frame of the *Constitution*, as they have a *Kindness* for the *several Parts* of it, which they do *severally Exercise* among *Themselves*.

I must still be beholden to the Industry of

of the Reverend *Durell*, who has much obliged us with a clear, and Methodical Manifeſtation of the *Agreement* of the *Church of England*, (as it is now Eſtabliſhed by the **Act of Uniformity**) with *other Reformed Churches beyond the Seas.*

Sir John Colladon (one of his Majeſties Phyſicians in Ordinary) *had the Honour to Congratulate his Majeſties Reſtauration, from the City and Church of* Geneva, *and from the* Proteſtant Cantons *in* Switzerland. *Upon his Departure, he put this* Quære *to the Rulers of the ſaid Church*; Whether he might Lawfully Joyn with the Church of *England*, in Publique Worſhip, and receive the Holy Sacrament according to the uſual Rites thereof? *It was Anſwer'd, That he might; and that it was not to be Queſtion'd.* View of the Gover. p. 63.

Here is alſo, *A whole* French Reformed Congregation, that hath *Conformed to the* Rites, *and* Ceremonies *of the* Church *of* England, to the great Satisfaction of the *Divines* of *Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Bourdeaux*, &c. And ſince the Eſtabliſhment of This Church, divers Miniſters have come over, from *Geneva, France, Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Piemont*; *Students, Elders, Private Perſons*: And none Ibid. p. 73. Ibid. p. 90. Ibid. p. 92.

none of them ever yet refuſed, either to *Aſſiſt*, or to Conform.

Ibid. 64. *Mr. de Launе*, *Miniſter* of the *Wallons Church* at *Norwich*; and *Mr. Calendrin*, one of the *Miniſters* of the *Dutch Church* in *London*, have divers times *Officiated* in *Engliſh Congregations*, according to the Book of *Common Prayer* of the *Church* of *England*] Without any Scandal, either Given or Taken.

Nay, ſo far are they from *diſowning* Ib. 69, 72. us, that the *French Divines* hold them for *Schiſmatiques*, and *Puniſhable*, that *refuſe Communion* with us. * Bucer *thanks God with all his Soul, to ſee the* Engliſh Ceremonies *ſo* pure.

* Scripta Anglican. p. 455.

N. C. **And have they, I beſeech you, their** *Set Forms?* **Their** *Peremptory Impoſitions?* **Their** *Declarations*, **and** *Subſcriptions?*

C. Yes, yes: All This, and more. For *Set Forms*, methinks you ſhould rather tell me *any one Reformed Church* that *wants* a *Set Form*, then put me to the Trouble of *Naming* all that *have*. *Calvin*, and *Beza* are Poſitive for them. *Geneva*, much more ſevere for the Obſervance of them, then we are here; *Inconformity There*, is cauſe of *Baniſhment* for a *Year*: And the *Gallican Church* makes it a matter

ter of *Excommunication*. *In Geneva*; *Calvin* Eſtabliſh'd his *Diſcipline* by an *OATH*, both upon *People*, and *Paſtors*, *to obſerve That Form for ever after*. The *Miniſters* take an *Oath* of *Canonical Obedienee*, in *Hungary*; And the *French Divines* are not admitted, without *Subſcription*. There's no Impoſing upon *Publique Laws*, with *Private Scruples*: No Bandying allow'd, betwixt *Conſcience*, and *Authority*: *He that will not ſubmit to the Orders of a* Community, *Away with him.* (ſays *Calvin*) It is not enough to take cheque at the *Conſtitutions* of the *Church*, under colour of a weak *Conſcience* (or ſo pretended) but you muſt be fully ſatisfied, that the *Conſtitution* is *Wicked IN IT SELF*. Nay, *Calvin* carries it further. Suppoſe it really *miniſters Matter of Offence*; (ſays he) *That will not ſerve to vacate the Obligation*, unleſs it be alſo found to be *Simply*, and *IN IT SELF Repugnant* to *the Word of God*. [*Quia tamen Verbo Dei* PER SE *non Repugnat, Concedi poteſt.* To provide againſt *Evil Conſequences*, is the *Magiſtrates* Duty, not the *Subjects*.

Hooker's Eccleſ. Pol. Preface.

N. C. The Worſhip *of God, is in it ſelf* Pure, *and* Perfect, *and* Decent, *without having any ſuch* Ceremonies *affixed*

Two Papers of Propoſals, p. 7, 8.

fixed thereunto; [*And many Faithful Servants of the Lord, knowing his* Word *to be a Perfect Rule of* Faith, *and* Worship, *have ever been exceeding fearful of* Varying *from his* Will, *and of the Danger of Displeasing him, by* Additions, *or* Detractions, *in such Duties.*

C. You will hardly find any honest President for this *Nicety*. (*Calvin* would have given it a *worse Name*) *Testatum Velim* (says he) *me non de* Ceremoniis *Litigare*, *quæ* Decoro *tantum*, & Ordini *Serviant*: *vel etiam* Symbola *sunt*, *& Incitamenta ejus quam Deo deferimus Reverentiæ*. He Declares himself, you see, not only for *Ceremonies*, of *Order*, and *Decency*; but for *Ceremonies* of *Significancy*, and *Incitement* to *Reverence* and *Devotion*. And in another place, *Ergone* (Inquies) *nihil Cæremoniarum rudioribus dabitur*, *ad juvandam Eorum Imperitiam? Id ego non dico*; *omnino enim utile illis esse sentio*, *hoc Genus Adminiculi*.] Will you allow of *no Ceremonies* then at all, (you'l say) for the *Instruction* of the *Vulgar*? You do not hear me say so; for I am clearly of opinion; that they are of very great *use*, and *service* to the People.

Instituт. lib. 4. ca. 9. sect. 14.

Upon the Main; The *English Non-Con-*

Conformiſts, (as *Mr. Durell* well obſerves) are a ſort of People by themſelves; and *Non-Conformiſts*, at *Geneva*, and *Francfort*, as well as at *Canterbury*, or *London*.

N. C. **But ſtill, methinks, whatever our** *Conſciences* **are as to the way of** *Publick Worſhip*, **we might yet be Indulged with an Allowance of Serving God among our ſelves. Why ſhould a** *Toleration* **do worſe** *Here*, **then in** *Holland*?

C. I might *Anſwer* you with another *Queſtion*. Why ſhould a *Commonwealth* do worſe *Here*, then in *Holland*? Or Why ſhould a *Standing Army* do worſe *Here*, then in *Holland*? Beſide; If you look narrowly into it, you will find the *Diſſenters* from the *Settlement* There, to be rather *Strangers*, then *Natives*. *Engliſh*, *French*, *High-Dutch*, that flowed in to them upon the General Revolt from the Church of *Rome*: *Lutherans*, and *Anabaptiſts*, out of *Germany*; *Calviniſts* out of *France*; *Separatiſts*, and *Semiſeparatiſts* out of *England*, in the Days of *Queen Mary*, and *Independents*, ſince; all which were entertein'd, more out of Regard to *Policy*, then *Conſcience*; their Buſineſs being at that time to ſhake off the Yoke of

of *Spain*, and *Change* the *Government*: To which End, these *several Parties* contributed effectually, by preparing the People for the Alteration Intended; and inuring them to *New Principles*, both of *Religion*, and *State*.

And yet you are not to understand *Theirs* to be a *Perfect Toleration* neither. For you see, they would not, upon any terms, allow That Freedom to the *Arminians*, which they did to *Others*; but Conven'd a *Synod*, and *Exterminated* the *Sect*. The reason was, they had a Jealousie of the *Arminians*, for *Barnevelt*'s sake, the Head of that Party.

You are to take notice also of the great difference betwixt the *Interest*, and *Condition*, of *Our Ministers*, and *Theirs*. *Our Clergy have a Freehold in their Benefices for Term of Life*; and if they be *Factiously disposed*, they may Evade the *Law*, and do a *Mischief*, without making a *Forfeiture*. Whereas *Theirs* Preach upon *Good Behaviour*; Live upon the *States Pay*; and upon the least Colour of *Offence*, may be *turn'd off* at pleasure. I need not tell you what Havock, *Peters*, *Bridges*, *Sympson*, *Ward*, made in *Holland*: But what they did *Abroad*, the same thing they would have done at *Home*, if they had been *Tolerated*. *N. C.*

N. C. **What do ye think of *Poland* then?**

C. I think, That Story ſpeaks little to your Advantage: take it either in Reſpect of their frequent *Seditions*, or in Regard of their Prodigious, and Heretical *Opinions*: And yet they live under the ſtrongeſt Obligation in Nature to keep them quiet; The *Tartar*, and other *Powerful Neighbours*, lying hard upon them; which makes their Caſe to be rather an *Agreement* againſt a *Common Enemy*, then among *Themſelves*.

N. C. **Now take all at the worſt; It is but *Athanaſius* againſt the *World*, and the *World* againſt *Athanaſius*. *Number* and *Truth*, are not always of a Side.**

C. And yet *Your Multitudes* make up a great part of your *Argument*. This however let me ſpeak for you; There has no *Induſtry* been wanting to Propagate your *Profeſſion*.

In the Year 1619. The *Scotch Diſcipline* was preſented to the *Synod* at *Dort*, for their *Approbation*: But they would not meddle with it. *Spotſwoods* Hiſt. *Scott.* p. 540.

Anno 1654. Upon the Reprinting (at *Geneva*) of A *Collection* of the *ſeveral Confeſſions of Faith*, received in all the *Reformed*

Mr. Durells View of the Government, p. 173.

Reformed Churches of *Europe*; under the Title of, *Corpus, & Syntagma Confeſſionum Fidei, &c.* It was moved that the *Thirty Nine Articles* of the *Church of England*, might be left out, and the *Aſſembly Mens Confeſſion*, put in the place: But the Motion was totally rejected; The *Thirty nine Articles Inſerted*, and not a Word of the *Directory*.

They had no better luck with their *Covenant* neither, then with their *Diſcipline*.

The late Kings large Declarat. p. 75.

[*The* Miniſters, *and others of the* Conſiſtory *at* Charenton, *and of other* Reformed Churches *in* France; *as alſo the* Profeſſours, Miniſters, *and* Conſiſtory *of* Geneva, *and of other Neighbouring Reformed Churches in thoſe Parts, were ſo ſcandalized with this Prodigious Covenant, as that they were afraid of nothing more, then this, that it would bring an indeleble* Scandal *upon the* Reformed Churches, *and alienate the Minds of all the Princes of* Chriſtendom, *from ever enterteining a good Thought of their Religion.*

The *Venerable Aſſembly* of *Engliſh Divines*, and *Scotch Commiſſioners* (as they ſtiled Themſelves) ſent the Copy of their *Covenant*, and a *Solemn Invitation* to *Seventeen Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas to *Joyn* with them. Their Letter

ſhould

ſhould have been *Latin*; But ſo it was, that they left it *a Meaſuring Caſt*, whether they were the better *Chriſtians*, *Caſuiſts*, *Subjects*, or *Grammarians*. Their skill was moſt employ'd, in Exhorting the *French Proteſtants* to follow *Their Example*, and caſt off the Yoke of *Antichriſt*; (that is to ſay, of *Obedience*) And in Calumniating their *Sovereign*, as a *Confederate* with the *Popiſh Intereſt*, to deſtroy the *Proteſtancy*. Which *Deſign*, was only to be *obviated*, by a *Holy League*. This was the Drift of the *Addreſs*; But we never heard Syllable of the *Anſwer*.

There needs no more be ſaid to prove the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches ſtrong*, and *unanimous* againſt you; and you had beſt make a Trial, if you can ſupply by *Reaſon*, and *Argument*, what you want in *Countenance*, and *Authority*.

SECT. XX.

The Non-Conformists Exceptions *to Our* Publique Way *of* Worship, *found Guilty of Great* IMPIETY, *and* ERROUR.

A *C.* WHat are your *Exceptions* to *Our Way* of *Worship?* Are they *General*; or *Particular?* Is it the *Imposition it self*, or *the Thing Imposed*, that displeases you?

N. C. **Why truly** *Both.* **The** *One* **takes away my** *Christian Liberty*; **and the** *Other*, **the** *Liberty* **of my** *Conscience.* **The greatest part of** *my* **Trouble, is the** *Act* **of** *Uniformity.*

C. Is it the *Model*, or the *Uniformity* you stick at?

N. C. *Both* **alike; for neither is the** *Particular Act* **fram'd to** *my Satisfaction*: **nor is it possible that any** *One Form* **of** *Worship* **should suit** *All Judgments.*

C. Will *Toleration* suite *All Judgments*, any better then *Uniformity?* But, I perceive, you do not accompt the *Sanction* of any *One* Form *whatsoever* to be *Lawful.* *N. C.*

N. C. Indeed I do not think it *Lawful* for a *Magiſtrate* to enjoyn any thing upon a *Penalty*, which a *Private Perſon* may not *Conſcienciouſly Obey* him in; Nor do I think it *Warrantable*, for a Man to *Obey* any *Humane Command*, againſt the Dictate of his *Conſcience*.

C. Put This together now. Firſt, *It is not* Poſſible *that any* One Form *of Worſhip ſhould ſuit* All Judgments: And then, *It is not* Lawful *to enjoyn any thing upon a* Penalty, *which does* Not *ſuit* All Judgments. What is This, but a meer *Trifling* of *Government*; to ſuppoſe a *Law*, without an *Obligation*?

Again; If the *Magiſtrate* cannot *Impoſe*, neither can he *Tolerate*; unleſs you'l ſuppoſe him a more Competent Judge of *Your* Conſcience, then of his *Own*: for you *allow* him to Underſtand what he may *Tolerate*, and *deny* him the Knowledge of what he may *Impoſe*. So that either he has no *Power*, or no *Reaſon* to favour you: No *Power*, as you ſtate his *Capacity*; And no *Reaſon*, as you diſclaim his *Authority*. But you were ſaying, that the *Impoſition* takes away your *Chriſtian Liberty*. As how, I beſeech ye?

N. C. In making Thoſe things *Neceſſary*, which Chriſt left *Free*. For

wherein does *Christian Liberty* more concern it self, then in the *Free use* of *Indifferent*, or the *Forbearance* of *Doubtful* things, which we are bound entirely to *preserve*; And whereof, by your *Ecclesiastical Injunctions*, we stand *Depriv'd*?

C. If the *King* be *Ty'd up*, in Matters that are either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*; and the *People* left at *Liberty*, in things *Indifferent*: I would fain know what *Authority* has to work upon. But this Point will fall in of it self by and by: Though enough be said already, to prove your *Position* utterly *destructive* of *Order*, and *Society*. For there is but *Good*, *Bad*, and *Indifferent*, in Nature: What we are *BOUND* to do; What we are Bound *NOT* to do; and What we may either *DO*, or *LET ALONE*. (That is to say, without the Interposal of some Incidental *Obligation* to *determine* that *Indifference*)

The Asserters of this Doctrine, fetch their Warrant for it, out of *St. Paul* to the *Galatians* 5. 1. *Stand fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free.* Upon *This Text* they ground their *Exemption*. But *here* they prudently *stop* too; for the *Context* would have spoil'd all: And they might as well have Argu'd against

againſt the *Efficacy* of *Chriſt's Death*, from the *latter* part of the *ſecond Verſe*, as for *Chriſtian Immunity*, (in the Latitude they underſtand it) from the *former* part of the *firſt*. The *Apoſtle* goes on in Theſe Words; *And be not entangled AGAIN with the Yoke of Bondage.* 2 *Behold*; *I* Paul *ſay unto you, that if ye be CIRCUMCISED*, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. 3 *For I teſtifie again to every Man that is CIRCUMCISED, that he is a Debtor to do the whole Law.*

The Caſe, briefly, was This. By the Coming of our Bleſſed Saviour, the *Jewiſh Ceremonies* were *aboliſh'd*: Some that had a mind to Continue them, and keep the People ſtill under the Yoke of the *Law*, ſtood for the Doctrine of the *Circumciſion*. (which was here the very Matter in Queſtion) The Apoſtle cautions the *Galatians* againſt it; and *not to be entangled AGAIN with the Bondage of the Law*. Which amounts only to a *Diſcharge* from the *Bondage* of *That Law* to which they were *before* Subjected; without extending That *Liberty*, to the Prejudging of *Authoritative Laws*, and *Impoſitions* for the time to *come*. As if the Apoſtle had Preached *one thing* to the

Galatians, and the *contrary* to the *Romans*. *Obedience*, at *pleaſure*, in *one* place; and *Obedience* under pein of *Damnation*, in *another*.

In the *Second*, and *Third Verſes*, *St. Paul* (you ſee) clears, and preſſes it further. As if he had ſaid; *Be Circumciſed* at your *Peril*. For *That ſingle Point* of the *Law*, makes you anſwerable for the Performance of *every Title* of it. *We* *Calv.* Inſt. li. 3. ca. 19. ſect. 15. *are not* (ſays *Calvin*) (Perperam ad Politicum Ordinem) *perverſly to apply the Doctrine of* Spiritual Liberty, *to* Political Order, *as if* Chriſtians *were to be ever the leſs Subject to* External Government *by* Humane Laws, *becauſe their* Conſciences *are ſet at* Liberty *before* God. Nay, ſays Ibid. lib 4. ca. 10. ſect. 27. he, in another place; *Si Eccleſiæ Incolumitati benè proſpectum volumus*] *The Church can never be ſafe, without* St. Paul's Decency and Order. *But in regard of the diverſity of* Cuſtoms; *and the variety of Mens* Minds, *and* Opinions; *It is not poſſible to ſecure any Polity, without the Authority of certain Laws; or to preſerve any Order, without ſome ſtated Form. Now ſo far am I from condemning any Laws conducing to this End*, [Ut his ablatis, diſſolvi ſuis Nervis Eccleſias, Totaſque Deformari, & Diſſipari contendamus]

mus] *that I look upon the Removal of them, as the Diſſolution of the very Sinews of the Church, and expect nothing after it, but* DEFORMITY, *and* DISSIPATION. Nor is it to be Imagin'd, that *All things ſhou'd be done* Decently, *and in* Order, (after the Apoſtles Precept) *but by the mediation of certain Rules, and Obſervations, which may ſerve as ſo many Bonds for the Regulation of that* Decency, *and* Order. *Always provided,* **That Thoſe** *Ceremonies* **be not Impoſed as** *Neceſſary* **to** *Salvation*, **or** *Eſſential* **to God's Worſhip.**

From your Plea for *Chriſtian Liberty*, (which is a *Propoſition*, in it ſelf, deſtructive of all *Communities*) let us now move to your *next Exception*, in the Matter of *Scruple:* wich I am afraid will be found no leſs *Intolerable* in *Religion*, then the *other* was in *Government*; and *Dangerous* enough in *Both.*

It would take a Man an *Age* to run through all the *Quirks*, and *Niceties* of the *Queſtion*; and to trace every *Particular*, in diſpute, from the *Original* of its *Practice*, or *Inſtitution.* And beſide; It were but *Actum Agere*; for the *Lawfulneſs*, and the *Antiquity* of *Biſhops*, *Liturgies*, and *Ceremonies*, with all the *Minutes*,

and *Circumstances* of the Case, has been abundantly, and *irrefragably* clear'd already, by many *Reverend*, and *Learned* Hands. I must not say, *Unanswerably*, because the *Opponents* would still have the *Last Word*; And they have *Replied* indeed, with much *Confidence*, and *Verbosity*; which has had the luck to pass with the *Common People*, for *Authority*, and *Reason*. The *Scripture*, and the *Fathers* (in the *Interim*) complein of very hard dealing from them, and make open *Protestation*, that they never so much as *dreamt* of what our *Novellists* deliver to the World in *Their Names*. But however, (*right* or *wrong*) Their *Margents* are still Embroder'd, with *Texts*, and *Testimonies*, in evidence of their great *Piety*, and *Abilities*: All which their Disciples *Swallow*, and *Swear* to, without understanding one Syllable of the *Matter* in *Contest*. For alas! They are a sort of People, that hold very little Intelligence, with *Antiquity*, or *Learning*. *Their* Business lies in their *Shops*, and at their *Trades*, or *Labours*. What have *They* to do with *Counsels*, and *Fathers*? What Accompt can they pretend to give, of the *Practises* of the *Primitive Times*, and the Stream of *Ecclesiastical Story*? And upon *This Hinge* moves

moves the Frame of the *whole Diſpute*; wherein they do manifeſtly *paſs Sentence* without *Knowledge*, and govern themſelves totally by an *Implicit Faith*. So that, being thus *prepoſſeſt*; It is but Scribling *on*, and keeping out of their *Reach*, to *perpetuate* the *Quarrel*. This I ſay; Unleſs the *Subject* of it, might in ſuch manner be *brought down*, and *accommodate* to the Capacity of the *Vulgar*, as to make way for an *Appeal* from the *Snares* of *Artifice*, and *Impoſture*, to the *Rules*, and *Meaſures* of *Common Reaſon*.

The Church of *England* is now labouring under the *Scandal*, and *Diſtraction* of a violent *Schiſm*; by reaſon (as we are told) of many *Doubting*, and *Scrupulous Conſciences*, that cannot *Conform* to her *Rites*, and *Orders*: and Heavy *Compleints* are advanced againſt the *Government*, on the behalf of the *Diſſenters*.

In the *firſt* place, let us enform our ſelves, *Who are the* Promoters *of this* Compleint? Secondly, *What* Warrant *have they for ſo doing?* Thirdly, *Do they* Well, *or* Ill *in't?*

N. C. **Your *firſt* Queſtion is ſoon reſolved: The *Compleinants* are the *Diſſenters*.**

C. We

C. We are never the nearer for That Anſwer: for neither does it appear to us, that all the *Diſſenters* are *Compleinants*; nor that all the *Compleinants* are *Really*, and in *Truth*, *Diſſenters*: Nay we are able to produce the *Hands*, and *Declarations* of many of your prime *Champions*, in Evidence to the *Contrary*. But to keep on our Courſe; The only *Compleinants* we can take notice of, are the *Silenc'd Miniſters*, in their Private *Books*, and *Sermons*.

Petition for Peace, P. 5. *N. C. Should not the Love of Chriſt command us to be tender of Thoſe that are ſo tender of his Honour; and to take heed what we do to Men, for taking heed of Sin, and being afraid to offend the Lord? And ſhould not the Special Love of Chriſtians, and the Common Love of Men, command us to be loth to drive them by Penalties, upon* **that which they Judge, doth tend to their** *Everlaſting Damnation*; **And which indeed doth tend to it, Becauſe they Judge it ſo to do:**

Ibid. *Suppoſe they be* **Miſtaken,** *in thinking the things to be ſo diſpleaſing to God,* **Yet it is commendable in them, to be fearful of diſpleaſing him.**

C. And do not you find now, that in the ſame *Breath*, you *Raiſe*, and *En-*

courage

courage the *Scruples* you *complain* of; and plead (effectually) but for *Doubts of your own Making.* This is a Method for *Counterfeit Cripples*, not for *Faithful Miniſters*; To *make Sores*, on purpoſe, to *Beg Plaiſters.* But it is to be hop'd, that This is not done without good *Warrant*, and *Authority*: and I ſhould be exceeding glad to ſee a Copy of their *Commiſſion* for what they do.

N.C. **It is a Duty of their** *Paſtoral Office*, **to have a care of their** *Sheep.*

C. But They have no *Sheep* at all, unleſs they ſteal them out of other Mens *Flocks.* I think we may take for granted, that they have no *LEGAL Warrant*: for the *Non-Conformiſts*, and the Act for *Uniformity*, are *profeſt Enemies*: And their *Proceedings* are, point-blank, in *defiance* of it.

From the *PEOPLE*, they can have none neither; For *They* are concluded already, by their own Act, (in their *Repreſentatives*) againſt the very thing they pretend to. Or if *That Bar* were *away*; yes, and a *greater difficulty* too, that *follows* it; which is, The *Moral Impoſſibility of bringing all the People together, that are to be Parties to the* Commiſ-

ſion:

ſion: I am perſwaded, it would poſe the beſt *Conveyancers* in this Kingdom, to draw up a *Deed of Truſt*, to *That Purpoſe*, without a *Flaw* in't. That is to ſay: A *Commiſſion* from the *Diffuſive Body* of the *People*, muſt be Directed to ſuch and ſuch *Miniſters*, as *Commiſſioners* for *Tender Conſciences*.

From *HEAVEN* it never came neither, I do verily believe. For moſt certainly *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*, never Iſſued out any *Commiſſion*, for the *Diſtracting* of *Conſciences*, and *Societies*. We read indeed of *CONFIRMING the Weak*, but not a *Syllable*, of *STAGGERING* them. And for the Extraordinary Ways, of *Viſion*, and *Revelation*, they are not ſo much as mention'd.

N. C. If you would have given me leave, I ſhould have told you, e'en now, that they are *Warranted* by a Senſe, and Impreſſion of *Conſcience*, in the Diſcharge of their *Paſtoral Duty*: Which obliges them, [*To watch over their Flock; To preſerve them from* Errours, Hereſies, Diviſions; *To Defend the Truth, Confute Gainſayers, and Seducers, Inſtruct the Ignorant, Excite the Negligent,* Encourage the Deſpondent,

Petit. for Peace, p. 99.

dent, *Comfort the Afflicted*, Confirm the Weak, *Rebuke, and Admoniſh the Diſorderly, and Scandalous.*

C. Here's *much againſt* you, and *not one Word* in your *Favour.* Inſtead of *PRESERVING their Flocks FROM Hereſies, and Diviſions, your Paſtors* demand a *down-right TOLERATION* of them. And inſtead of *Encouraging the Deſpondent, Comforting the Afflicted*, and *Confirming the Weak*; They tell the *Diſtreſſed*, (for their *Comfort*) that *if they do any thing with* Doubting, *they ſhall be* Damn'd; and never go further, to *deliver* them from thoſe *Doubts*; but there they very fairly leave them, *Surrounded* with *inextricable Scruples*; and their very *Souls, Broken*, and *Confounded* with *Agony*, and *Horrour.* Whether they do *Well*, or *Ill*, now be *You your ſelf* the *Judge.*

My Opinion is, that they have as little to ſay for the *Conſcience* of their Proceedings, as any way elſe. *Firſt*, Their very *Preaching*, and *Writing*, (by reaſon of their *Legal Incapacity*) is a *Tranſgreſſion* of the *Law. Secondly*, In the *Matter it ſelf*, they are to blame; for it is of very evil Conſequence, both upon the *Publique*,

Publique, and upon *Particulars*. To ſay nothing of their Undertaking for *other Mens Conſciences*, which is a *Privilege* belonging only to *God himſelf*.

That they do Ill, in *diſobeying* the *Law*, and in *troubling* the *Government*, I ſuppoſe you will not deny; And yet am I perſwaded, that the very *Foundation* of their *Plea* for *Separation*, and Diſſent, is the greateſt part of the Miſchief. We have *Laws Eccleſiaſtical*, for the *Ordering* of the *Church*, and you refuſe to *Obey* them. For what *Reaſon*, I beſeech you?

N. C. **The beſt** *Guide* **in the Caſe of** *Impoſitions*, **and** *Obedience*, **I take to be** *the Word of God*; **and our** *Doubtings* **ſure are very** *Reaſonable*, **concerning** *God's Worſhip*, **where the** *Scripture* **gives** *no Direction*. **Shew us where they are** *Commanded* **in the** *Goſpel*, **and we are ready to** *Obey* **them.**

C. The *Scripture* is the *Rule* of our *Faith*, not of our *Outward Actions*, and *Practiſe*. [*Whatſoever, to make up the Doctrine of Man's* SALVATION, *is added, as in ſupply of the Scriptures Inſufficiency, we reject it.* But does it therefore follow, that *ALL things Lawful to be done, are comprehended in the Scripture? Admit This, and God in delivering*

Hooker's Eccl. Pol. li. 2. ſect. 8.

Ibid.

livering Scripture to his Church, ſhould clear have abrogated amongſt them, the Law of Nature, *which is,* An Infallible Knowledge Imprinted in the Minds of all the Children of Men, *directing us in the Choice of Good and Evil, in the Daily Affairs of this Life. Admit This; and what ſhall the* Scripture *be, but a* Snare, *and a* Torment *to* Weak Conſciences, *filling them with Infinite* Perplexities, Scrupuloſities, Doubts Inſoluble, *and Extreme* Deſpairs? *Not that the* Scripture it ſelf *doth cauſe any ſuch thing, but* the Neceſſities of this Life, *urging Men to do that which* the Light of Nature, Common Diſcretion, *and* Judgment *of it ſelf directeth Men unto: On the* other ſide, This Doctrine *teaching them that* ſo to do, *were to ſin againſt their* Souls; *and that they put forth their Hands to* Iniquity, *whatſoever they go about, and have not firſt the* Sacred Scripture *of God for their* Direction. *How can it chuſe but bring the Simple a Thouſand Times to their Wits End? How can it chuſe but vex and amaze them; to be obliged in every Action of Common Life, to find out ſome Sentence of Scripture, Clearly, and Infallibly ſetting forth, what we ought to do? Admit This, and it ſhall not be with Maſters, as it was* Ibid.

with

with him in the Gospel; but Servants being commanded to go, *shall* stand still, *till they have their Errand Warranted unto them by Scriptures.* Thus far the Learned *Hooker*: in Agreement with Mr. *Calvin*, (the *Oracle* of the other Party) in his Chapter of *Christian Liberty*, who writes to this Effect.

Calv. Inst. ca. 9. sect. 7. *Let every Man have a care not to make things* Indifferent, *Matters of* Religion; *for nothing can be more necessary then the right understanding of That Liberty*; **without which, we shall never have any Peace of Conscience, and there will be no End of Superstition.** [*Quæ si aberit, nulla Conscientiis nostris futura est Quies; Nullus Superstitionum finis*] He that Scruples the *Lawfulness* of *Eating*, or *Drinking Delicacies*, will by *degrees*, let his *Scruple fall* to *Meats and Drinks less Delicate*, and so *from one thing, to another, Lower, and Lower*; (and all this while, in a perpetual *Anxiety of Conscience*) till he comes at last to satisfie himself, that what he *takes*, both for *Quantity*, and *Quality*, is but just sufficient to entertein the absolute *Necessities* of *Nature*. He must have a *Text* for every thing he does; and not step over a Straw, without consulting *Scripture* first: and

and every *Common Action* is made a *Case of Conscience*. From this miserable *Perplexity of Mind*, what can be expected, but *Despair*, and *Confusion*? *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Cutting of Throats*, and all the wretched Extremities of *Violence*, which those poor Creatures exercise upon themselves, as their *last Retreat*, to avoid the *Fury* of a *Tormenting Conscience*.

This is the *Fruit* of the *Doctrine* of *CHRISTIAN LIBERTY*; a *Dangerous*, and an *Impious Position*; and can have no other *Aim*, (In Truth, scarce any other *Issue*) than the *Vacating* of *Humane Laws*; and the *Extermination* of all Principles of *Duty*, and *Subjection* out of the Hearts of the *People*. But to be as short as may be, you see the *Effects* of your *Scruples*; pray'e speak a little to the *Grounds* of them. What *Exceptions* have you to our *COMMON PRAYER*? And see if you do not from one end to the other, fall foul upon your Arguments.

N. C. It is devised by Men. Tryal of the *Engl.* Liturgy, p. 4.

C. So are *your Ministers Prayers*; and *all Prayers* whatsoever, *Scripture-Forms Excepted*.

N. C. **It is** *Imposed* **upon the** *Minister*, **and** *People*, **of** *Necessity*. Ibid. p. 5.

C. The *Imposition* of the *Directory* was

yet more *General*, *Strict*, and *Peremptory*. There was no *Diſpenſation* for a *Family*, and *Four more*, which, as it might be improv'd, takes in well nigh the whole Kingdom.

N. C. **But your** *Common Prayer* **is** *ſtinted*, **both in** *Matter*, **and** *Words*, **to be uſed without** *Variation*: **and ſo was not the** *Directory*.

C. Why may not the *Church* impoſe a *Stinted Form* upon the *Miniſter*, as well as the *Miniſter*, (if he ſo pleaſes) upon the *People*? For if the *Miniſter* be left at *Liberty* either to keep to *one Form*, or to *vary*, at his own *Election*, The *Congregation* is at *his Mercy*, whether they ſhall have a *Stinted Form*, or *No*. *Smectymnuus* is ſo gracious as to allow of a *Stinted*
Page 11. *Form*, *Himſelf*; *in Caſe the Miniſter ſhall be found inſufficient to diſcharge the Duty of Prayer in a* Conceived way: *But then it is to be Impoſed on him as a* Puniſhment: *To uſe* Set Forms, *and* no other. So that it is not the *Unlawfulneſs* it ſeems, of a *Set Form*, nor the *Impoſition*, but the *Inexpedience* you ſtumble at: And the World is at a fine paſs ſure, when the *Parliament of England* ſhall not preſume to make *Laws*, without asking the *Silenc'd Miniſters* Opinions firſt, about the

Expe-

Expedience of them. The *Directory*, as to the *Matter* of it, is as well a *Stinting* of the *Spirit*, as the *Common Prayer*. For in the *Subſtance*, and *Scope* of the Prayer, the Miniſter is *limited*; only for the *WORDING* of it, he is at his own *Freedom*: And if he may but Turn *ALMIGHTY and moſt MERCIFUL Father*, into *OMNIPOTENT and moſt GRACIOUS Lord God*, the Peace is concluded. Otherwiſe we are to look for nothing but *Fire and Sword*: *Lives*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*, muſt be hazzarded in the *Quarrel*.

N. C. **Do you make no difference between** *Impoſing Set Forms*, **upon a** *few Inſufficient Miniſters*, **and upon a** *Multitude* **of** *Others*, **in Common, that have** *the Gift of Prayer*?

C. No, none at all, as to the *Exemption* of Any Man from the *General Rule*. Beſide; What Security can any Man give, that he ſhall continue in the Right Exerciſe of his *Reaſon*? Put caſe your *Gifted Miniſter* ſhould be taken with ſome Diſtemper that ſeizes the *Brain*, and *Diſorders*, (or but *Clouds*) his *Underſtanding*: Nay, let it be only ſome *faint*, *drowſie Indiſpoſition* of *Body*, or *heavineſs* of *Mind*; What becomes of the *Aſſembly*, under ſo

Languid, Spiritleſs, (and perchance *Extravagant*) a *Diſpenſation*?

Further: The *Right*, and the *Reaſon* too, of *Impoſing* upon *One Miniſter*, extends to *All*.

Again: If a *Set Form* may be admitted, where the *Miniſter* is not good at *Extempore*; What becomes of your Argument, I beſeech ye, for the *Conſciences* of the *CONGREGATION*? Unleſs you underſtand the *Weakneſs* of the *Miniſter* to be a *Diſpenſation* for the *Scruples* of the *People*; In which caſe, it may be lawful for the King and Parliament to Impoſe a *Service-Book*.

And yet again: Over and above the *Vanity*, and the *Arrogance* of the *Undertaking*; do me but the favour to conſider, what an *Irreverence*, what a *Prophanation* of Gods Holy *Worſhip*, and *Ordinances*, muſt needs enſue upon it. The *Desk* is turn'd into an *Oratory*, as well for the *TRYAL* of *Gifts*, and *Faculties*, as for the *EXERCISE* of them: and half the Buſineſs the *Congregation* has at *Church*, is to hear Men *Talk* to *God Almighty*, upon their *Probation*: which is done too, (God knows it, even at the beſt) not without great *Imperfections*, and *Failings*; witneſs their [*Affectations*,

Empti-

Emptineſs, Impertinency, Rudeneſs, Confuſion, Flatneſs, Levity, Obſcurity, vain, and Ridiculous Repetitions, their Senſleſs, and oft-times Blaſphemous Expreſſions:] which are but *Helps* at a *Plunge*, either to gain time for the recovery of their loſt Matter, or to *ſtop Gaps*, and *fill up Broken Sentences*. Now where's the *Life*, and *Power* (as you call it) of *Devotion*, all this while; when the *Whole Man* is taken up, (and all little enough too) about *Words*, and *Periods*; And the Miniſters chief Care diverted from the *Saving of Souls*, to the *Saving of his own Credit?* Hence proceeds That *Agreement* of *Tone*, and *Emphaſis*, in all their *Exclamations*, *Acted Paſſions*, and *Vain Repetitions*, with now and then a *Groan* drawn out to a moſt *Doleful Length* for a *Parentheſis*. For *they are all ſick of the ſame Diſeaſe*, and theſe *Interjections* give them a little *Breath*, and *Reſpit*, for *Recollection*. Now in This loſs of *Senſe*, and *Order*, How is it poſſible for the *Affections* of the *Congregation*, to keep company with the *Miniſter* in all his *Wandrings*, *Doubtings*, and *Circumlocutions?* The *one half* of their *Intention* is ſpent in *Divining* (before-hand) what he *drives at*; and the *other*, in *unriddling* his *Meaning*,

Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, p. 127.

when he has *Deliver'd* it. Whereas in *Set-Forms*, both *Minister* and *People* are *freed* from These *Distractions*, and totally *intent* upon the *Duty* of the *Worship*: and there is a greater *Harmony*, and *Union* of *Affections*, when they *Pray All* at the same *Time*, in the same *Words*, and for the same *Thing*. I might insist upon the Inconvenience of leaving Ministers at *Liberty*, for fear of disturbing the *Publique*: and tell you over and over, that in our *Stinted Forms* we do but joyn in the *Common Privilege* of *Other Churches*: But more then enough is spoken Already. Let me hear now what you have to say against our *Ceremonies*.

Propoſals to His Majeſty, p. 22.

N. C. **Whereas** *Kneeling* **is** *Impoſed, in the Act of Receiving the Lord's Supper, We deſire that none may be Troubled for Receiving it* **Standing**, *or* **Sitting.**

C. You have quitted your *Hold*, I perceive, of *Scriptural Direction*, and *Preſident*. For neither *Standing*, nor *Sitting* was the *Triclíniary Poſture*. But why not *Kneeling*, as well as either *Sitting*, or *Standing*?

Ibid. p. 23.

N. C. **Becauſe** *it is a* **Novelty**; *contrary to the* **Decrees**, *and* **Practiſe** *of the* **Church**, *for many Hundred Years after the*

the Apostles. And it has been forbidden by **General Councils.** *And it is not Good* **also** *to shew a needless Countenance of Adoring the Bread of God.*

C. Can you shew me that *Kneeling* at the *Lord's Supper* has been *forbidden*, where *Kneeling* at *other parts* of *Publique Worship* has been *Allow'd?* Now you your selves *allow of*, and *Practise Kneeling* in other Cases, which is every jote as contrary to the *Ancient Custom*, as *Our Kneeling* at the *Sacrament.* But We must not *Kneel*, you say, for fear of *Countenancing* the *Adoration* of the *Breaden God.*

To which I Answer, that *First*, The *Doctrine* of our Church speaks directly to the *Contrary. Secondly*, The *Rubrick* directs *Kneeling* at the *Confession*; and the People *continue Kneeling*, at the *Receiving.*

N. C. **But with your Favour, the** *Rubrick* **does** *afresh* **enjoyn** *Kneeling*: **and order** *the Communion to be delivered into the Peoples Hands KNEELING.*

C. Right. And now take your Choice, whether we shall rather run the hazzard of being suspected to adore the *Bread*, because we receive it after the *English Gesture* of Worshipping, which is *Kneeling*; or incur the same Censure, by *Changing Posture*, and taking it after the *Ancient*

way of *Worſhipping*, which is *Standing?*

If you can make appear, that where the *Cuſtom* was to *Worſhip Standing*, they *Received*, *Kneeling*; you ſay ſomething toward the perſwading of us that *Worſhip Kneeling*, to *Receive Standing*.

Your *Exceptions throughout*, are much of a *Quality*; *Negatively Impoſing* upon *Authority*, becauſe you will not be *Poſitively bound up your ſelves*. For, *You ſhall NOT do This, or That, is an Impoſition, as well as You SHALL.* Another Humour you have gotten, of *Scrupling* at *Ceremonies*, becauſe they are made as *Neceſſary* to *Salvation*, as the *Word it ſelf*, and the *Sacraments*. (This is the Suggeſtion of the *Petition for Peace*, Pa. 8.) Whereas it has been, and ſtill it is the Conſtant Care of the *Impoſers themſelves*, by an expreſs Solemnity of *Explanation*, to ſatisfie the whole World to the *Contrary*.

Give us leave only for one Word more, and that out of *Calvin's Inſtitutions*, concerning *Scandal*; (Lib. 3. Cap. 19.) which you make one part of your Compleint. There is (ſays he) a *Scandal GIVEN*, and *TAKEN*. The *One* is the *Scandal* of the *Weak*; the *Other*, of the *Phariſees*; who out of a perverſe *Malignity*

of

of *Spirit*, turn every thing to the *worse*. There is no *Yielding* to this sort of Men; No *Enduring*, no *Hearing* of them: [*Qui quum in mille Impietatis Formas Duces se præbent, sic sibi agendum fingunt, ne proximo sint Offendiculo.* Who, under colour of *Tenderness* in the Matter of *Scandal*, make no *Conscience* at all of a thousand *Gross Impieties*. This is *His Judgment*, and *Our Case*: And there is no Remedy, but by concluding upon a *Final*, and *Unaccomptable Judge*.

SECT. XXI.

Whatsoever God hath left INDIFFERENT, *is the* Subject *of* HUMANE POWER.

AS *Reasonable Nature* consists of *Soul*, and *Body*; so is the *Authority* that Governs it, *Divine*, and *Humane*: God, *Eminently* over *All*, and *Princes Ministerially*, under Him, and as his *Substitutes*. The Dominion of our *Souls*, God reserves Peculiarly to *Himself*, committing That of our *Bodies* to the Care of the *Magistrate*.

Now

Now if *Power* be a *Divine Ordinance*, ſo conſequently is *Subjection*; for to Imagine the *One*, without the *Other*, were to deſtroy the *Reaſon* of *Relatives*. A Strict, and Accurate Diſquiſition of This Matter, would ſave us much Trouble that ariſes about the *Bounds*, and *Limits* of our *Duty*; How far *Religion* binds us, and how far *Allegeance*. That they are *ſeverable*, we are not to doubt, ſince *Truth it ſelf* has ſaid it. *Give unto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſar's; *and unto* God, *the things that are* God's. But that they are only *ſo* ſeverable, as never to become *Inconſiſtent*, is founded upon the ſame Immovable Rock; *Let every Soul be ſubject, &c.* A Precept, of a *Perpetual*, and *Univerſal Operation*, and Limited neither to *Time*, *Place*, nor *Perſons*.

N. C. **Your Deduction of** *Government*, **and** *Subjection*, **from** *Divine Inſtitution*, **is well enough; and that we are to Obey the** *Magiſtrate* **for** *God's* **ſake, and in** *Subordination* **to** *God*, **is eaſily** *Prov'd*, **and** *Granted*: **But I hear nothing yet of the Particular** *Bounds*, **and** *Terms* **of** *Humane Juriſdiction*; *What* **'tis belongs to** *God*, **and what to** *Ceſar*.

C. And That, I confeſs, is the Pinch of the Queſtion: For *One Duty* comes up

ſo

so close to the *Other*, that 'tis not for every Common Eye to pass between them. Effectually, they *Touch*; but in what Point, is of a *Nice Decision*. The nearest way to the Knowledge of our *Duty*, is to apply it to the *Laws*, and *Powers* of the *Authority*: for a Man must first *Know* the Rule, before he can *Observe* it. We are then to consider, that the Almighty Wisdom has invested *Kings* with an *Unlimited Power* of *Commanding*, or *Forbidding*, in all Matters, which *God Himself* has not either *Commanded*, or *Forbidden*: Which Proposition resolves it self into This Conclusion. *Whatsoever God has left* Indifferent, *is the Subject of* Humane Power.

N. C. **Does not that Opinion destroy** *Christian Liberty?*

C. No: But the Denial of it destroys *Magistracy*. If *Kings* have not *This Power*, they have *None at all*: And it Implies a Contradiction, to suppose any Authority in Nature without it.

N. C. **But may not a Prince** *tye himself up,* **in a thing otherwise** *Indifferent?*

C. I speak of *Power* according to the *Institution*, not of Power limited by *Faction*.

N.C. May

N. C. **May not the same thing be Indifferent to** *One*, **and not to** *Another*?

C. Very Good: And will not every thing Imaginable appear *Non-Indifferent* to some or other; if nothing may be *Commanded*, but what upon such a Phansie may be *Disobey'd*?

N. C. **Pardon me; I do not speak of Matters of** *Civil Concern*, **but of Matters of** *Religion.*

C. That's all a Case; for you cannot Instance in any One *Civil* Action, that may not be made Relative to *Religion.* But we are now upon *the Extent of Humane Power.* That there *is* such a *Power*, and *That*, *Authoriz'd* too by *God Himself*, you have already Granted. Let me but understand now, *Upon what Subject shall that Power be* Exercis'd; If you exclude Things *Indifferent*? *One Man* may have a *Real Scruple*, and All the *Rest*, *pretend* one. Who shall distinguish? So that the Rule holding from *One* to *All*, the Sacred Authority of the *Prince* becomes dependent upon the Pleasure of the *Subject*; and the *Validity* of a *Divine*, and *Unchangeable Ordinance*, is subjected to the *mutable Judgment*, and *Construction* of the *People.*

N. C. **And you expect, the** *Magistrate* should

ſhould as well have the Authority of *Judging* what's Indifferent, as of *Reſtreining* it.

C. You may be ſure I do; for I am but where I was, If I make *You* the Judge. Is it not *all one*, as to the *Magiſtrate*, whether you Refuſe, upon Pretenſe that the Thing is *not Indifferent*, or upon Pretenſe, that He cannot *Reſtrein* a thing Indifferent? The *Crime* indeed is differing in the *Subject*: for the *One way*, 'tis an *USURPATION* of *Authority*; and the *Other way*, 'tis a *DENIAL* of it.

N. C. Why then it ſeems, I am to believe every thing *Indifferent*, which the Magiſtrate tells me *is* ſo, be it never ſo *Wicked*.

C. No; There you are bound up, by a *Superiour Law*.

N. C. Have you ſo ſoon forgot your ſelf? You would not *allow* me to be a Judge, juſt now; and here, you *make* me one.

C. Right. To your *ſelf*, you *are* one, but not to the *Publique*; you are a Judge of *your own Thought*, but not of the *Law*.

N. C. And does not *This way* of Arguing as much endanger *Authority*, as the *Other*? For *All* may Judge *Thus*, as well as *One*.

C. 'Tis

C. 'Tis poſſible they *may*. Nay we'l ſuppoſe an Impoſition foul enough to move them all to do ſo; and yet there's a large difference: For *Diverſity* of *Judgment* does not ſhake the *Foundation* of *Authority*; and a Man may *diſobey* a *Sinful Command*, with great Reverence to the *Power* that *Impoſes* it.

N C. **You were ſaying e'en now, that my Duty to** *God*, **and to the** *King*, **could neber be** *Inconſiſtent*. **How ſhall I behabe my ſelf, I pray'e, if the** *King* **command** *one* **thing, and** *God another*? **I cannot obſerbe the** *Law*, **without bi-olence to my** *Conſcience*, **nor diſcharge my** *Conſcience*, **without** *Offence* **to the** *Law*. **What Courſe ſhall I take, to abeid** *Enterfering*?

C. Demean your ſelf as a *Chriſtian*, toward the *LAW* of *God*, one the *One* hand, and as a *Subject*, toward the *ORDINANCE* of *God*, on the *Other*: As conſidering, that you are diſcharg'd of your *Obedience* in *That Particular*, but not of your *Subjection* in the *General*.

N. C. **Put Caſe the Supreme Magiſtrate, ſhould by a** *Law*, **Eſtabliſh a** *Falſe Worſhip*.

C. He's nevertheleſs your *Prince*, and even in This *Complication*, you may ac-

quit

quit your self both to *God*, and to *Cæsar*. Though the *Worship* be *amiss*, The *Magistrate* is yet to be *Reverenc'd*; and you are to divide the *One* from the *Other*; in such manner, as still both to *Fear God*, and *Honour the King*. This *Loyal*, and *Religious Separation* of our *Duties*, will set us right in the *Main Controversie*. Where do ye find that *Kings Reign*, upon *Condition* of Ruling *Righteously*? Or that we owe them *Less*, *AFTER Misgovernment*, then we did *Before*?

N. C. **But do you say, we are bound to Honour an** *Idolatrous Prince*? **This is not according to the Doctrine of many of our Grave Divines.**

C. They are never the *Better Divines* for *That Doctrine*. The *Prince*, I tell ye, you are bound to *Honour*, though not as an *Idolater*. Shall the *Vice*, or *Errour* of the *Person*, degrade the *Order*? By *That Rule*, The *World* must continue without a *Government*, till we can find *Men without Failings*.

N. C. **So that, when it makes for your Turn, you can Allow (I see) of Distinguishing betwixt the** *PERSON*, **and the** *OFFICE*.

C. Betwixt the *Frailty* of the *One*, and the *Sacredness* of the *Other*, I do: for

Kings

Kings Command, as *Gods*, though they *Judge*, as *Men*. But I do no more approve of Dividing the *Person* of a Prince, from his *Authority*, then of Dividing his *Soul* from his *Body*.

N. C. **And I beseech you, What is *That*, which you call *AUTHORITY*?**

C. It is the Will, *and* Power *of a* Multitude, *deliver'd up by* Common Consent, *to some* One Person, *or* More, *for the* Good, *and* Safety *of the* Whole: And This *Representative* Acts for *All*. Now on the other side, *The Disposition of such, or such a Number of Persons, into an Order of* Commanding, *and* Obeying, *is That which we call a* Society.

N. C. **What is the *Duty* of the *Supreme Magistrate*?**

C. To procure the *Welfare* of the *People*; Or, according to the Apostle, *He is the Minister of God, for a* Comfort *to those that do* Well, *and for a* Terrour *to* Evil doers.

N. C. **How far are his *Laws Binding* upon his *Subjects*?**

C. So far, as *They* that *Parted* with their *Power*, had a *Right* over *Themselves*.

N. C. **Whence was the *Original* of Power?**

Power? And what *Form* of *Government* was *First*; *Regal*, or *Popular*?

C. Power was *Ordein'd* of *God*, but *Specifi'd* by *Man*: And beyond doubt, the *First Form* of Government was *Monarchique*.

N. C. But I should rather think the *Popular Form* was *First*: For *how could there be a* King, *without a* People?

C: So was the *Son* before the *Father*, you may say, for *How could there be a* Father *without a* Son? But the Question is; *First*: Was the World ever *without* a Government, since the *Creation* of *Man*? *Secondly*; Whether was there *first* in the World, *One* Man, or *More*? But we are not here upon the *Form* of *Government*, but upon the *Latitude* of *Humane Jurisdiction*; be the *Sovereignty* where it *will*. And my Assertion is, that *It extends to whatsoever God has left* Indifferent. *If you deny This, you overthrow all Government.*

N. C, And what are you the better, If I should *grant* it; unless we could All come to an *Agreement*, about what is *Indifferent*, and what *not*?

C. Which must be procured by the Allowance of some *Judicial Authority* to decide it.

SECT. XXII.

A *No End of* Controverſie, *without a* FINAL *and* UNACCOMPTABLE JUDGE, *from whoſe* Sentence *there ſhall be no* Appeal.

C. WHen *Subjects* come once to Diſpute *Laws*, The *War* is already *Declar'd* againſt the *Government*. For it is not the *Equity* or *Iniquity* of the *MATTER* of the *Law*, that is the *Queſtion*; but the *AUTHORITY* of the *LAW-MAKER*; under the countenance indeed of ſomewhat that might be *mended* in the *Law it ſelf*. And the Buſineſs comes Immediately to *This Iſſue*; Whether the *King*, or the *People*, ſhall *Determine*, in what concerns the Good of the *Community*? That is to ſay; Whether the *Government* ſhall *Stand*, or *Fall*? Whether or no we ſhall ſubmit our ſelves *quietly* to be *over-ruled* in all *Controverſies*, by a *Definitive Sentence* of *Law*; (according to the *End*, and *Intention* of *Government*, in its firſt *Inſtitution*) Or otherwiſe, by receding from that *Com-*

mon, *Peaceable*, and *Impartial Arbitrator* of all our *Differences*; from our *Faith given*; our *Oaths*, and *Contracts*: throw our selves back again into a State of *Nature*, and *Dissolution*; and for want of a *Moderator*, leave all our *Disagreements* to be *decided* by the *Sword*? (The certain Event of all *Popular Appeals*, from *Laws*, to *Multitudes*)

This was the Ruine of us, in our Late Confusions. The *Faction*, you saw, could do nothing, upon the Suggestions of *Right*, or *Wrong*; *Convenience*, or *Inconvenience*; till they came to make *Themselves* the *Judges* of it: And no sooner were they Possest of *That Pretension*, but all went presently head-long to Destruction. From Questioning the *Legal Power* of the *King*, they proceeded to the Exercise of an *Arbitrary Power*, *Themselves*: From *Asserting* the *Subjects Liberties*, to the *Invading* of them: And from the *Reformation* of *Abuses*, to the *Extirpation* of the *Government*. *The Two Houses led the Dance*, and *outed* the *King*; The *Commons* did as much for the *Lords*; and the *People*, as much for the *Commons*: Which comes to no more, then what was reasonably to be expected, upon turning the Course of Publick Affairs into a wrong

Channel; and ſubjecting the *Indiſputable Rights* of *Sovereign Authority*, to the *Cenſures*, and *Expoſtulations* of the *Rabble*.

B

N. C. **What are thoſe *Indiſputable Rights*, I beſeech ye?**

C. I reckon (among others) The *Power* of *Making* Laws; and likewiſe of *Enforcing* the *Execution* of them; without admitting any ſort of *Demur*, or *Contradiction*: for let the *People* break in once upon any *One Law*, and they will hardly quit their hold, till they have worm'd out, or *unſettled* all the *Reſt*. In ſhort; I do eſteem it a matter of Abſolute *Neceſſity*, to the *Peace*, and the very *Beeing* of all *Government*, to have ſome *Unaccomptable Judge*; ſome *Unqueſtionable Expedient* of *Law*, or *Authority*, for the Ending of *Controverſies*: The *Determination* to be *Final*, and *Deciſive*: No Appealing *from* it, and no contending *beyond* it.

N. C. **What not in Caſe of *Errour*? I could be well enough content with a *Judge*: and with *Indiſputable Laws*, if you could but aſſure me of *Infallible Law-Makers*. But I ſhould be ſorry to ſee a *Roman-Infallibility* ſet up in *England*.**

C. So that rather then a *Fallible Judge*,

you will have *None at all.* You could be content with a *Judge*, you say; but then *That Judge* must be *Questionable*, in Case of *Errour*; so that *Another Judge* is to Judge *Him*; and the very *Judge* of *This Judge*, is *Himself Questionable*; and so is *his Judge*, and his *Judges Judge*; (*in Infinitum*) in Case of *Errour*: Which Case of *Errour* may be Alledg'd, wheresoever there is no *Infallibility*; and if there be no *Infallibility* in Nature, then by your Rule, there can be no *Judge* in Nature.

N. C. **I do not say but a Man may Judge** *Certainly* **in** *some* **Cases, though not** *Infallibly* **in** *All*: **and all I ask, is only a Free Exercise of my** *Judgment at Discretion*, **without being ty'd up to an** *Implicit Resignation.* **There is but a** *Right*, **and a** *Wrong*; **and the** *One* **I must** *Embrace*, **and** *Reject* **the** *Other.* **How shall I know** *This* **from** *That*, **without** *Enquiry?* **And what am I the better for** *That Enquiry*, **if when I have** *Learn'd* **my Duty, I am debarr'd the Liberty to** *Practise* **it?**

C. You turn the Question, from the *Necessity* of a Judg, to his *Infallibility*. 'Tis all one to me, whether you make him *Infallible*, or *Credible*, or what you make him, or where you place him; provided

that he be Acknowledg'd *Neceſſary*, and *Unaccomptable*. That He is *Neceſſary*, I preſume you will eaſily afford me: for there can be no *Peace* without him, every Man being at Liberty to *Wrangle*, where no Man is Authoris'd to take up the *Strife*. But would you have him *Unaccomptable*, or no?

N.C. **What greater Encouragement is there in the World, to** *Tyranny*, **then the Opinion of an** *Unaccomptable Sovereignty?*

C. What is it rather (you ſhould have ſaid) that *Excites Sedition*, and *Depopulates Kingdoms*, ſo much as the *Contrary*? And doubtleſs, the *Fierceſt Tyranny* is much more ſupportable, then the *Mildeſt Rebellion*.

N. C. **Truly, as to the Conbenience of a** *Definitive Sentence*, **I ſhould be glad to ſee it; without the Hazzard of a** *Definitive Injuſtice*.

C. You miſtake your ſelf, if you oppoſe a *Poſſible Injury* on the *One* ſide, to a *Certain Wrangle*, and *Confuſion* on the *Other*. If *Infallibility* you cannot find, why may not the faireſt *Probability* content you?

N. C. **But would you have that** *Probability* **govern by** *Unqueſtionable*, **and** *Authoritative Concluſions?* *C.* By

C. By any means; you do nothing else: For where *Controversies* are *Inevitable*, and *Concord* (if it may be had) *Necessary*; What can be more Reasonable, then to chuse the most *Competent Judge* of the *Matter* in Controversie, for the Concluding *Umpire* of the *Controversie it self?*

N. C. **But a Man may Judge** *Probably* **in** *One* **Case, and** *Improbably* **in** *Another*: **Suppose the** *Determination* **to be manifest** *Errour*, **or** *Injustice*; **would you have the same Submission paid to it, as if it were** *Equity*, **and** *Truth?*

C. Yes: To the *Determination*, though not to the *Errour*: You are to stand to the *Authority* of the Sentence, without Contesting the *Equity* of it: for *Right*, or *Wrong*, 'tis a *Decision*. The Principal *Scope*, and sure *End* of a *Reference*, is *Peace*: The Hopeful *Event*, and *Issue* of it, is *Righteous Judgment*. Is it not well then, to be *sure* of the *One*, and in so fair a *Likelihood* of the *Other?* Put it to the worst; You are not bound to be of the *Judge* his *Opinion*, but to be overrul'd by his *Authority*: Neither do you undertake that he shall Judge *Critically*, as to the *Subject* of the *Question*; but that he shall Judge Effectually, as to the purpose of the *Reference*.

N. C. This *Reſignation* may do well, in Caſes of *Civil Intereſt* but it will hardly hold in Matters of *Conſcience*. Who ſhall pretend to Judge of *my Conſcience*, beſide *God*, and *my Self*?

C. The *Scripture*, which is the *Rule* of *all Conſciences*, ſhall be the *Judge* of *Yours*. But the Queſtion is not, What the Conſcience *Is*, but what it *Ought* to be: Not what your *Private Judgment ſays*, but what the *Scripture means*; and the Thing I ſtrive for, is a Judge of *That*: A *Judge* of the *Rule* of *Faith*; which I take to be all out as neceſſary, as a *Judge* of a *Political Law*.

You cannot but allow, that there are Diverſities of Opinions, as well in *Religion*, as concerning *Secular Affairs*: And ſuch is our *Corruption*, that we draw Poyſon, even from the Fountain of Life; and the *Word of God it ſelf*, is made the *Warrant* of all *Crimes*, and the *Foundation* of all *Hereſies*.

Look behind ye, and you may ſee a *Prince Murther'd* by his *Subjects*: *Authority Beheaded* by a Pretended *Law*, and all this Defended by a *Text*. The *Church Devour'd* by a *Divided* Miniſtry; The *Government overturn'd* by a Solemn *League* and *Covenant* to *ſupport* it: An *Arbitrary*

Arbitrary Power Introduc'd by the *Patrons* of *Liberty*: The *Lord's Prayer Caſhier'd*, to make way for the Motions of the *Holy Ghoſt*; and *Charity* it ſelf *Extinguiſh'd* for the Advancement of the *Goſpel*. We have liv'd to ſee as many *Hereſies*, as *Congregations*; and a *Conſiſtorian Scrutiny*, preſt beyond the Rigour of a *Spaniſh Inquiſition*. We have ſeen *ſome that* (a) *abhor Idols, committing Sacrilege. Chriſt's Kingdom cry'd up*, till his (b) *Divinity* is *Deny'd*. *Strictneſs* of Life *Inculcated*, till the very *Rule* of it (c) (The *Decalogue* it ſelf) is *Rejected*: And *Blaſphemy* hunted out of the *Tavern*, into the *Pulpit*.

(a) Rom. 2. 22.
(b) By the *Familiſts*.
(c) By the *Antinomians*.

B

In fine; What *Sin*, and *Miſery* have we not *known*, and *felt*, ſince under the Form of *Liberty of Conſcience*, This Freedom of a *Private Spirit* came in *vogue*? Nor are we ever to expect better from it, till all Men ſhall conſpire to do the ſame thing, where every Man is left to his Own Guſt, to do what he pleaſes. And whence flows all this *Miſchief*, and *Confuſion*, but from a *Licenſe* of *Wandring* from the *Rule*? Methinks Theſe Practiſes ſhould put you, and your Cauſe out of Countenance.

N.B. I am no Advocate for *Anarchy*, though

though no Friend to *Uniformity*: And I know 'tis with *Non-Conformiſts*, as with *other People*; there are *Good* and *Bad* of *All ſorts*. But to go with the *Moderate*: Would you have *all Mens Conſciences* Govern'd by the *ſame Rule*?

A

C. Better *Particulars* ſuffer for Incompliance with the *Publique*, then the *Publique* ſuffer for Complying with *Particulars*. *Uniformity* is the *Ciment* of both *Chriſtian*, and *Civil Societies*: Take That away, and the *Parts* drop from the *Body*; One Piece falls from Another.

The *Magiſtrate* (for *Orders* ſake) requires *Uniformity*; *You*, and *your Aſſociates* oppoſe it, upon a Plea of *Conſcience*. The Queſtion is; Whether *He* ſhall Over-rule *your Opinions*, or *You* Over-rule *His Authority*? This Diſpute begets a *War*, for want of a *Judge*; and to prevent that Conſequence, I offer that a *Judge* is *Neceſſary*. Or put it Thus: *You*, and *I differ*; and poſſibly we are *Both* in the *Wrong*; but moſt certainly we are *not Both* in the *Right*; and yet neither of us but thinks well enough of his own Opinion. What's to be done in This Caſe? Shall we Wrangle Eternally?

N. C. No, We'l rather put the Matter to *Arbitration*.

C. Well

C. Well; but the *Arbiter himſelf* is *Fallible*; and may miſtake too: Or let him have the Wiſdom of an Angel, he cannot pleaſe us *Both:* For That which ſeems *Right* to the *One*, will appear *Wrong* to the *Other.* Shall we ſtand to his *Award* whatever it be? If not, take into your Thought theſe Conſequences. *You* refuſe to ſubmit, becauſe it is *Wrong*; and *I* may refuſe, by the ſame Reaſon, though it be *Right*: (For, *Every Man's Reaſon is of equal Force, where there is no Common, and Repreſentative Reaſon to Bind All.*) So that by your Reckoning, Every Man is in the *Right* to *Himſelf*, and in the *Wrong* to *all the World beſides*: (for I perſwade my ſelf, that Nature never produc'd Two Perſons, in all Points, of the ſame Judgment.)

Now, if you can neither deny *Confuſion* to be the *Natural Effect* of this *Liberty of Judgment*; nor the want of a *Regulating*, and *Decretory Sentence*, to be the *Cauſe* of This *Confuſion*, I hope you'l grant me the *Neceſſity* of an *Unaccomptable Judge.*

N. C. **Is not the Word of God a ſufficient Judge?**

C. No: That's no *Judge*, but [*a Rule for Chriſtians to Judge BY*] and the great Danger

Chillingworths Safe Way. p. 57

Danger lies upon the *Meaning* of That *Rule*. Witneſs thoſe Swarms of *Hereſies*, that have over-ſpread this Land, ſince the Bible has been deliver'd up to the Interpretation of *Private Spirits*.

N. C. **You ſay well, if you could direct me to a Judge that we might all rely upon.**

C. And you ſay ſomething too, if you could make appear, that *None at all* is *better* then *the Beſt we have*: Or that *Popular Errours*, *Numberleſs*, and *Inevitable*, (with the *Diſſolution* of *Societies* to boot) are to be preferr'd to the *Few*, and only *Poſſible Failings* of *Authority*, attended however with *Peace*, and *Agreement*. The Queſtion, Briefly, is This. Whether will you rather have; *One Fallible Judge*, or *a Million of Damnable Hereſies?*

N. C. **Truly, as you have reduc'd it, to a Certainty of** *Peace* **the** *One* **way, and to as great a Certainty of** *Diſcord*, **the** *Other*; **to a** *Certainty* **of** *Many Errours, without* **a Judg, and to a bare** *Poſſibility* **of ſome** *few, with* **One: I think a** *Final Judge* **may be** *Convenient*, **if not** *Neceſſary*.

C. If you find it ſo in the *Church*, ſure you will not Diſpute it in the *State*; eſpecially

eſpecially againſt an Experience too, the moſt forcible of all Reaſons. We were never troubled with *Conſtructive Neceſſities*; with Cavils about the *Receptacle* of *Power*, and the *Limits* of *Obedience*: With Diſtinctions betwixt the *Political*, and the *Natural Right* of the *People*; The *Legal*, and the *Perſonal Will* of the *Prince*; and betwixt the *Equity*, and the *Letter* of the *Law*: till Judgment was forc'd from its proper Courſe, and the *Deciſion* of *Political Controverſies*, committed to the Frivolous, and Tumultuary Arbitrations of the *People*.

N. C. **Nay, I am as much for a *Judge*, as You; but not for *One Judge* to *All Purpoſes*: Nor indeed, for *any Judge* ſo *Abſolute* as you would have him.**

C. I tell ye again, A *Judge*, and no *Abſolute Judge*, is *No* Judge: and you ſhall as ſoon find the End of a *Circle*, as of a *Controverſie*, by *ſuch a Judge*. Nor is it yet my Intention, that *One Judge* ſhould ſerve for *All Purpoſes*.

N. C. **Divide your Matter then, and aſſign to every *Judicable Point* its *Proper Judge*.**

C. You have Reaſon; for truly I do not take the *Magiſtrate* to be any more

a *Judge* of *My* Conſcience, then *I* am of *His*.

N. C. **No doubt of it; And it were an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of God Himſelf, for the Magiſtrate to Challenge it.**

C. How comes it now, that we, that *accord* ſo well in the *End*, ſhould *differ* ſo much in the *Way* to't? But I hope the Clearing of the next Point will ſet all Right: for after the Acknowledgment of the *General Neceſſity* of a *Judge*, we have nothing further to do, but to agree upon
B the *Judge*, and ſo *ſubmit*.

SECT. XXIII.

A *The Three Great* Judges *of* Mankind, *are* GOD, MAGISTRATES, *and* CONSCIENCE.

Some Things we do as *Men*; *Other* Things, as *Men* in *Society*; and *Some* again, as *Chriſtians*. In the *firſt* place, We are acted by the Law of *Individuals*; Which Law, in the *Second* place, is Subjected to That of *Government*; And Both theſe Laws are, in the *Third* place,

Sub

Subordinate to That of *Religion*; i.e. *The Law of God's Revealed Will.* So that *the Three Great Judges of Mankind are*, GOD, MAGISTRATES, *and* CONSCIENCE.

Man as Consisting of *Soul*, and *Body*, may be again *Subdivided* within *Himself*. Take Him in his *Lower Capacity*, and He is sway'd by the *General Law* of *Animal Nature*, But in his *Divine* part, you will find Him Govern'd by the Nobler Law of *Refined Reason*; which *Reason*, in *some* Cases, we call *Prudence*, and in *others*, *Conscience*, according as it is Variously Exercised.

The Things which we do purely as *MEN*, (Abstracted from any Ingredients of *Policy*, or *Regulated Religion*) are either *Natural Actions*, *Prudential*, or *Moral*. Of the *first* sort, are Those Actions to which we are prompted by a *Natural Impulse*, in order to the Conservation of *Life*, and *Being*. Of the *third* sort, are such Actions as we perform in Obedience to *Moral Principles*. (Which are no other, then the *Divine Will*, as it is couched under the Dictate of *Humane Reason*) And *Betwixt* These *Two*, lies the Region of *Middle Actions*: That is, of Such Actions, as although not of *simple*,

and

and *ſtrict Neceſſity*, either to *Life*, or *Virtue*, are notwithſtanding *Uſeful*, and *Commodious*, for the *Guidance*, and *Comfort* of the *One*, and for the *Practice* of the *Other*. The accurate Diſquiſition of This Intereſt clears the Main Difficulty of the Queſtion; for Nothing has embroyl'd us more, then the *Miſtaken Rights*, and *Privileges* of *Individuals*: Which Miſtakes being once made manifeſt, by laying open the *Subordination* of ſeveral *Claims*, and *Powers*, every Man may take a diſtinct View of his own Province.

N. C. **If you will proceed Regularly, you are to** *State* **theſe** *Subordinations* **as you go.**

C. Agreed; and we are now upon the *Right* of *Individuals*: In which naked Simplicity of Conſidering *Man*, without any Regard to the Ordinary Motions of *Providence*, in the *Order*, and *Regiment* of the *World*, We ſhall yet find a *Natural Subordination* within *Himſelf*, and the Law of *Senſe*, under the Dominion of the Law of *Reaſon*, in the *ſame Subject*. *Theſe* are the *Laws* which
Rom. 7. 23. the Apoſtle calls the *Law* of *his MEMBERS*, and *the Law of his WILL*. The *Former Law* (and the leſs Excellent) is the Law *Senſitive*; which is no other,

then

then the Law of *Self-Preſervation.* (The *Supreme* Law of *Animal* Beings, as it is of *Rationals* the *Loweſt*) This Law *Senſitive*, is no other than the Manifeſtation of *God* in the *Creature*: for what *Senſe* does, *Nature* does; and what *Nature* does, *God* does.

N. C. **But what is That** *Power* **all this while, which you call** *NATURE?*

C. It is the Ordinary Working of God in all his Creatures; by Virtue of which Divine Impreſſion, and Influence, Every thing is moved to ſeek the Utmoſt Perfection whereof it is Capable. As for the Purpoſe; The *Perfection* of *MAN* is the *Congruity* of his *Actions* with his *Reaſon*; which is Nothing elſe, but That which we call *VIRTUE.* The *Perfection* of *BEASTS* lies a degree lower: For they are only mov'd by a *Senſual Impulſe*, towards what is *Convenient* for them; and when they *have* it, They *Reſt.*

N. C. **When People are gravell'd, they fly to their** *Impulſes*, **and** *Occult Qualities.* **Where lies the Difference, I beſeech you, between** *Their Impulſe*, **and** *Our Choice?*

C. Their Impulſe carries them on through a *Senſitive Search*, not any *Deliberative Diſcourſe*; And there is no *Elec-*

ction neither at *laſt*: But only the *Simple Proſecution* of a *Determinate Appetite*, without imagining any *Proportion* betwixt the *Means*, and the *End*.

N. C. **But ſtill we find, that there is a** *Proportion*: **and the Motion appears to us according to the Method of** *Reaſon*: **And a very Orderly Proceeding from a** *Queſtion*, **to a** *Reſolution*.

C. Is it *Reaſon*, think ye, that makes a *Dog* follow his *Noſe*, and Hunt for *Meat*, when he is *Hungry*? Or will you call it *Choice*, if he leaves a *Turfe* for a *Bone*? Now if you ask how This comes about: He is guided by *Inſtinct* toward the *End*; and *Senſe* carries him thorough the *Means*.

N. C. **But why ſhould the** *ſame Proceſs* **of** *Means*, **and the** *ſame Application* **of** *Cauſes*, **be aſcribed only to** *Inſtinct*, **in** *Brutes*, **and to** *Reaſon*, **in** *Man*?

C. You are to take notice, that all *Natural Operations* are *Regular*, and *Ordinate*, by what Means ſoever performed: But it does not follow, becauſe the *Method* is according to *Reaſon*, that therefore the *Inſtrument* muſt be *Reaſonable*. But to mind what we are upon.

The Law of *Self-Preſervation*, is a *Law* common to *Beaſts* with *Men*; but not

not of *Equal Force*, and *Obligation*: for *Their Sovereign Interest* is *Life*; *Ours* is *Virtue*: And therefore your late Argument for *Defensive Arms*, under Pretense of that Extremity, was but a *Brutish Plea*: For if the Consideration of *Virtue* be not above That of *Life*, Where lies the *Advantage* of Our *Reason*?

N. C. **But when the *Death* is *certain*, and the *Virtue doubtful*, who shall decide the Point?**

C. In a Case abstracted from the *Ties*, and *Duties* of *Religion*, and *Government*, *every Man's Reason* sits as *Judge upon his own Life*. As for Instance; You are in the Hands of Thieves, and only This Choice offer'd you, either *to take a False Oath*, or *to lose your Life*. Your *Conscience* tells you, that you must rather *Perish*, then *Forswear* your self: But if you can preserve *your self*, without Violence to a *Superiour Duty*, you are your own *Murderer* if you *do not*. Thus far I think we are safe, and I suppose agreed, that *every Individual is to Govern himself by his Natural Conscience*. But when the *several Particulars* come to be bundled up in *One Community*, the Case is *otherwise*.

N. C. **I am sorry to hear you say That. Why should not every Man**

be Govern'd by his own Conscience, as well in *Consort*, as in *Solitude*, as well in *Company*, as by *Himself*? Or will you have it, that our *Duty* to *God ceases* in the Act of becoming *Subjects* to a *Civil Power*?

C. As to your *Conscience*, you are as free *now*, as you were *before*: But your *Body* is no longer your *Own*, after you are once enrolled a Member of a *Society*. And here's the Difference; You were your *own* Servant *before*, and *now* you are the *King's*. (For what is *Government*, but the *Wisedom*, *Resolve*, and *Force* of *every Particular*, gather'd into *One Understanding*, *Will*, and *Body*?) And This comes up to what I have already Deliverd, that, *Whatsoever God has left* INDIFFERENT, *is the Subject of* HUMANE POWER.

N. C. But who shall be *Judge* of what's *Indifferent*?

C. Let That be Examined the very next Thing we do.

You are already satisfied, that an *Authorized Judge* is absolutely *Necessary*, in Order to the *Peace* of *Church*, and *State*, and to the Ending of all Publique Differences: But we are not yet resolv'd about Our

Our *Judges*; Or if we were, yet in Regard they are but *Men*, and ſo may *Erre*, [*Infallibility being departed with Chriſt and his Apoſtles*; *in lieu of which Living, and Infallible Guides, God has in Providence given us a Plain, and Infallible Rule*] We are now to make Enquiry, how far a *Private* Judge may be allow'd to Oppoſe, or Differ from a *Publique*, in Caſe of a *Reluctant Conſcience*, and in ſome ſort to *Judge* his *Judge*?

Chillingworth's Safe way, &c. p. 104.

N. C. You ſay very well; For place the *Ultimate Deciſion* where you will, It is (as you ſaid before) an *Infallible Determination* as to the *Strife*; but *Not ſo*, as to the Truth; and comes at laſt to This, that *every Man* (in ſome Degree) *re-judges his Judge*. If I be fully conbinc't, either, that the *Command* is *Sinful* in it ſelf, or the *Opinion Wicked*; I am neither to *Obey* the *One*, nor to *Embrace* the *Other*; as being tied up by a General Obligation of rather *Obeying*, and *Believing God*, then *Man*. Nay more; If in Obedience to the *Magiſtrate*, I commit a Sin againſt *God*, and do it *ignorantly* too, That very Act in *Ignorance* is *Criminal*: (If I had the Means of being better inform'd:) *For No Humane Reſpect can*

justifie an Offence against God. Now if I am *bound* to do Nothing that is *Ill*; I am likewise *bound*, before I do any thing, *to satisfie my self*, whether it be *Ill*, or *No*: For otherwise, I may follow a *False Religion* for a *True*, and be Damned in the End, for not minding what I did. This do I take for Proof sufficient, that No Man is so Implicitely Obliged to rely upon *other Mens Eyes*, as totally to Abandon the Direction of *his own*; Or so unconditionally to Swear Obedience to *other Mens Laws*, and *Perswasions*, as to hold no Intelligence at all with that *Sacred Law*, and *Faithful Counsellor* which he carries in *his own Bosom*.

C. I am so far from advising you to *renounce your Reason*, that, on the contrary, I would have you absolutely *guided*, and *concluded* by it; and only to *Obey* for *Quiet* sake, so far as you can possibly *Obey* in *Conscience*.

N. C. What if a *Single Person hit* that Truth, which a *General Council misses?* Which will you have him follow; *Truth*, or *Authority?*

C. I would have him follow *Truth* with his *Soul*, and *Authority* with his *Body*. But it is not for so remote a Possibility

as

as This is, to bring the *Fansies* and *Imaginations* of a *Private Spirit* into a Competition with *Resolutions* of *Law*, And yet for the *Possibility* sake, We'l take the very *Supposition* likewise into Consideration, and Word the whole Matter as plainly as we can.

The *Church* says, Ye *may* Do; And the *Law* says, You *must* Do, That which your *Conscience* says, You ought *not* to Do. How will you reconcile your *Duty*, and your *Conscience*, in This Case?

N. C. **Very well; For I think it my** *Duty* **to Obey my** *Conscience*, **upon This Principle, That** *Conscience is God's Substitute over Individuals.*

C. Keep to That, and Answer me once again; *Is not the Civil Magistrate God's Substitute too?* If He *be*, How comes *your Conscience* to take place of *his Authority?* They are *Both Commission'd alike*, and consequently, *Both to be Obey'd alike*: Which is *Impossible*, where their *Commands* are *Inconsistent.*

N. C. **The** *Magistrate* **is a** *Publique Minister*, **and** *his Commission* **does not reach to** *Particular Consciences.*

C. And on the Other side, *You* are a *Private Person*, and there is as little Reason for *your Opinion* to Operate upon a

Publique Law. So that if I miſtake you not, we are upon accord thus far; That *every Particular* is to look to *One*, and the *King* to the *Whole*.

Now if you would deal as Candidly with me, about the *Eccleſiaſtical Power*, as you have done in the *Civil*, we might make ſhort work of This Queſtion. I hope you will not deny that the *Church* is as well (*a*) *Authorized to* TEACH, *and* INSTRUCT *in all the External Acts of Worſhip, as* (*b*) *the Magiſtrate is to* COMPEL *to Thoſe External Acts.*

(*a*) *Rutherford's* Due Right of Presbyt. p. 356

(*b*) Ibid. p. 352

N. C. **There is no Doubt,** (*c*) *The Church* **(as the Church)** *has a Miniſterial Power* (*Ex Officio*) *to Define Controverſies, according to the Word of God*; **And that** (*d*) *A Synod Lawfully Convened, is a Limited, Miniſterial, and Bounded Viſible Judge, and to be believed in, ſo far as they follow Chriſt; the Peremptory and Supreme Judge, ſpeaking in his own Word.*

(*c*) Ibid. p. 407.

(*d*) Ibid. p. 415.

C. This will not do our Buſineſs yet; for to ſay, that *a Synod is to be believed in,* SO FAR *as it follows Chriſt,* ſeems to make Thoſe the *Judges* of That Act, that are to be *Concluded* by it; and leaves the *Credit* of the *Authority*, dependent upon the *Conſcience*, *Fancy*, or *Humour* of the *Believer*.

Believer. For 'tis but any Man's ſaying, that *the Synod does not follow Chriſt*, and that *he truſts in it ſo far as it does follow Him.* And this is enough to keep the Controverſie afoot, without any hope of Deciſion.

N. C. We are indeed to believe Truths determined by **Synods**, *to be* **Infallible**, *and never again liable to Retraction, or Diſcuſſion; Not becauſe* [**ſo ſays the Synod,**] *but becauſe* [**ſo ſays the Lord.**] Rutherf. Free Diſp. p. 36.

C. Still you are ſhort; for 'tis not in Our *Power* to *diſbelieve* what we *acknowledge* to be a *Truth*: But That which is *Truth* at the *Fountain*, may be *Corrupted* in the *Paſſage*; Or at leaſt appear ſo to *Me*, and *What then?*

N. C. **It muſt be look't upon as an** *Errour* **of the** *Conſcience*; **which is** *no Diſcharge* **at all of your** *Obedience*: **From which** *Errour* **you are to be** *reclaimed*, **either by** *Inſtruction*, **or** *Cenſure.* **For** *the People are obliged to Obey Thoſe that are* OVER THEM IN THE LORD, *who Watch for their Souls, as thoſe who muſt give an Accompt;] And not oblig'd to ſtand to, and obey the Miniſterial and Official Judgment of* THE PEOPLE. *He that Heareth* YOU (MINISTERS *of the* GO- Ibid. p. 27.

GOSPEL, *not the* PEOPLE) *Heareth* ME; *And He that Deſpiſeth* YOU, *Deſpiſeth* ME.

C. Why ſhould not We Two ſhake Hands now, and Join in the Act for *Uniformity?* You cannot ſay, that it wants any thing of the full Complement of a *Binding Law*; Either in regard of the *Civil*, or of the *Eccleſiaſtical Authority*. Here is *firſt*, the *Judgment* of the *Church duely conven'd*, touching the *Meetneſs*, and *Conveniency* of the *Rites*, and *Forms* therein Conteined. You have *next*, the *Royal Sanction*, *Approving*, and *Authorizing* Thoſe *Rites*, and *Forms*; and *Requiring* your Exact *Obedience* to them. Now ſo it is, that you can neither Decline the *Authority* of your *Judges*, nor the *Acknowledgment* of your *Duties*; What is it then that hinders your *Obedience?*

N. C. **That which to Me is more then all the World, It goes againſt my Conſcience.**

C. Only That Point then, and we have done with This Subject.

We have already concluded, that *God* is the *Judge* of the *World*; That the *Church* is the *Judge* of what properly concerns

concerns *Religion*; That the *Civil Magistrate* is *Judge* of what belongs to *Publique Order*, and *Peace*; and That *every Man's Conscience* is the *Judge* of what concerns his *own Soul*. The Remaining Difficulty is This; *How I am to behave my self in a Case, where the* Law *bids me do* One *Thing, and my Conscience, Another.*

To take a True Estimate of This Matter, We are first to Ballance the Two Interests, that meet in Competition; The *One, for* the Law, and the *Other, against* it.

There is, in *Favour*, and *for* the *EXECUTION* of the *Law* (meaning That of *Uniformity*) 1. The *Personal Conscience*, and 2. The *Political Conscience* of the *King*. There is moreover, for the *EQUITY* of it, the Solemn and Deliberate *Judgment* of the *Church*; which is, effectually, the *Publique Conscience*; and lastly, for the *OBSERVANCE* of it, There is the *Duty* of the *Subject*, which, if it be *withdrawn*, does not only Invalidate This *Particular Act*, but it looſens the Sinews of *Sovereign Authority*; and which is more, it deſtroys even a *Divine Ordinance*; For take away *Obedience*, and *Government* lapſes into *Confuſion*.

Now for the *Counterpoise*; *AGAINST This Law*, and *Thus Supported*, appears *your Naked Conscience*. Nay, That's the *Fairest* on't; It may be *worse*, and in Truth, any thing that's *Ill*, under *That Name*.

N. C. **But what's the** *World* **to** *Me*, **in the Scale against my** *Soul*?

C. You have great Reason sure, and 'tis no more then every Man may challenge: That is, to *Stand*, or *Fall*, to his own *Conscience*: Is that your Principle?

N. C. **Yes, out of Doubt; 'tis** *Mine*, **and** *Yours*, **and** *any Man's* **that's** *Honest*.

C. Well; Hold ye a little: *Your Conscience* will not down with *This Law*; and *This Law* will as little down with *your Conscience*. Weigh now the *Good* against the *Bad*; What if it *stands*? What if it *yields*? Make the Case worse then it is; as Bad as Bad may be, in your own Favour. *You* cannot *comply* with the *Law*; And the *Law* will not *stoop* to *You*. What follows upon it?

N. C. **The Ruine of many Godly People, that desire to Worship God, according to his Word.**

C. That Plea wrought little upon *You* from *Us*; but let that pass. What *sort* of

of Ruine do you mean? Ruine of *Liberty*, or *Estate*? (For this Law draws no *Blood*) *State* your Misfortunes, I beseech ye.

N.C. No Man must Hold a *Benefice*, or Teach a *School*, but upon Terms of such *Subscription*, or *Acknowledgment*, as many an honest Man would rather *Die* then *Consent* to: So that We are Distrest, not only for Our *Selves*, as being depriv'd of the Comfort of all Spiritual, and Heavenly Freedoms; But Our poor *Infants* are exposed to be Undone, wanting the Means of a *Religious Education*.

C. If *This* be All, never Trouble your selves; for *many an honest Man has outliv'd more then this comes to.* In short; There's a *huge Clamour*; but (God knows) with *little Reason*. Some Particulars will possibly suffer for *want* of a *Toleration*: and who are They; but the Profest *Opposers* of the *Law*? And on the *Other* side, All the *Friends* of the Government will suffer *by* it.

If you would see the *Event* of *Granting* what you ask, Turn but your Face toward —41, and then *Blush*, and *Repent*. Besides; You're not aware, that in Contesting with the *Law*, you Quar-

rel

rel with your *self*: *THERE'S YOUR OWN VOTE AGAINST YOU*; and all this Muttering, is no other then your *Factious Will*, wrangling with your *Political Consent*. And yet I say, *Stick to your Conscience*: Let us now put the Case of a Real Distance, betwixt *This Act*, and *your Conscience*. How will you divide your Duty?

N. C. **I'le follow your Advice, and** *stick to my Conscience*.

C. Now change Hands, and make your self the *Supreme Magistrate*. He has a *Double Conscience*; *One* that concerns *Himself*, the *Other*, his *People*.

What his Majesties *Personal Judgment* is, has been *Declared* Abundantly; What his *Prudential Judgment* may dispose Him to, lies in His *Royal Brest*. But be That as Heaven shall Order it. Here's the *Partition* of your Rights: The *King's Prerogative* has nothing to do with *your Conscience*; and *your Conscience* has as little to do with *His Majesties Prerogative*. The King is Accomptable to *God* for the Welfare of his *People*; and You are only Accomptable to *God* for the Good of your little *Particular*. If *You* cannot *Obey* the *Law*, Do not: But abide the *Penalty*. If the *Sovereign* cannot *Relax* the

Law,

Law, He's as Free to *Execute* it. *Your Conscience* requires *Liberty*, and your *Governour's Conscience* requires *Order*. Now why you should expect, that your *Sovereign* should bring down *His Conscience* to *Yours*, when you find upon Experiment, that you cannot perswade your *Own* to come up to *His*, is to me a Mystery. To Conclude, Keep your self, within your *Sphere*; and where you cannot *Consent*, as a *Christian*, *Submit*, as a *Subject*; that We may at last hope for some Respite from the Calamities of *Sedition*, and *Schism*.

N. C. **And why not** *Scandal*, **and** *Profaneness* **too? For the Edge of your Severity might be directed to much better Purpose That way.**

SECT.

SECT. XXIV.

A The Church of England *charges the* Non-Conformists *with* SCHISM, *and the* Non-Conformists *charge those of the* Church *with* SCANDAL. *The Matter is taken into* Debate.

N. C. YOur Position is, That *no Toleration* is to be admitted, to the hazzard of *Religion*, *Good Life*, and *Government*. Keep to *That Standard*, and you will find that the *Conformists* have as little Pretense to a Toleration as their *Neighbours*; and that the Notorious *Scandal* on the *one* side, outweighs the Objected *Schism* on the *other*.

C. This will scarce hold, if you come to be Try'd by your own Laws: which make it a Matter of *Scandal*, *by* Writing, Preaching, *or* otherwise, *to publish a Disaffection to the* Present Government. But Explain your self.

Scobel's Acts, Part 1. p. 340.

N. C. By *Scandal*, I mean *Habitual Prophaneness*, *Sensuality*, *Dissolution of Manners*, *&c.* As by *Schism*, I suppose

pose you intend *our Incompliances* with *your Church-Discipline*. Weigh These Two now, One against the Other, and do you your self hold the Balance. Set up *your Tavern-Clubs* against *our Conventicles*; Oppose *your Combinations* against *God Himself*, to *our Plots* against the *Government*. For you must not take it Ill, if I tell ye, that *Atheism* is become the *Sport*, and *Salt* of your most *Celebrated Entertainments*. And when you have dash'd the *Bible* out of *Countenance*, with the Story of the *Three Grand Impostors*, or some such Lashing Piece of Drollery, The Questioning of *God's Over-ruling Wisdom*, by *Solemn Arguments*, and the Placing of *Fortune* in the Throne of *Providence*, is that which commonly Crowns your Conversations.

C. You should not charge *Personal Crimes* upon a *Party*, unless you can prove them to be rationally Consequent to the *Tenets*, and *Actings* of *That Party*. Now if you can shew me any *Affinity* betwixt *our Principles*, and *These Impieties*, you say something: But if you cannot, The Dust of your Argument puts out your own Eyes. I do not wonder, I must confess, to see a Nation Over-run with

Atheiſm, that has been ſo many Years under your Tuition: or to find the *Brat* of a *Conventicle* laid at the *Church-Door*.

B

N. C. **May not** *We* **charge** *Perſonal Extravagancies* **upon** *your Party*, **as well as** *You* **do upon** *Ours*?

C. Yes: If you can prove the ſame Agreement againſt *Us*, betwixt the *Faults* of the *One*, and the *Principles* of the *Other*, which we are able to juſtifie againſt *You*.

The *Epiſcopal Party*, you know, ſtood for the *King*; and it is undeniable, that the *King*, and *Church* had the ſame *Cauſe*, and *Fate*. It is as unqueſtionable on the *other* ſide, that the *Non-Conformiſts* deſtroy'd both the *One*, and the *Other*: Not by Accident neither, but by a *Form'd*, and *Excogitated Deſign*, wrap'd up, and couch'd in the very *Myſtery*, and *Foundation* of the *Schiſm*: Your *Separation* from a Communion with the *Church*, reſolving naturally into a *Combination* againſt the Entire Frame of the *Government*; till in the End, by the help of a *Peinful*, and *Well-affected Miniſtry*, the Generality of the People were Preach'd into This Diviſion, [i. e.] *Thoſe that could not* reach *the Cheat, were taught to* Scruple *at* Every Thing; *and Thoſe that*

went

went along with it, *to make a* Conscience *of* Nothing. And this is it, that has brought us to be so Pester'd with *Enthusiasts*, and *Atheists*.

N. C. **But let me tell ye again, the** *Atheists* **are of the** *Other Party.* A

C. And let me enform you too, that *your Proceedings* have made *Atheists*, more ways then One.

First: The meer *Quality* of your *Cause* has made *Atheism* the *Interest* of a great many of your *Partakers*; who, to put off the Thought of a Divine Vengeance attending them, if there *be* a God, Endeavour (for their own Quiet) to perswade themselves that there is *no God at all.*

Secondly: The Work has been carried on under the Masque of *Holiness*; and the most *Desperate Atheist* is nothing else but a *Crusted Hypocrite.* I speak of your *Religious Atheist*, who has This Odds of the *Profane*, and *Scoffing Wretch*, the he abuses God to his *Face*, and in his *own House.* The Great Atheists, *indeed, are* Hypocrites (says *Sir Francis Bacon*) *which ary ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling; so as they must needs be Cauteriz'd in the End.* Essay of Atheism. B

It is Remarquable (as I have elsewhere

recommended to your Obſervation) *that in the Holy Scripture there are not ſo many* Woes *pronounc'd, nor ſo many* Cautions *Inculcated,* againſt *any ſort of People,* as againſt *Hypocrites.* You ſhall there find, that God has given the Grace of *Repentance* to *Perſecutors, Idolaters, Murtherers, Adulterers, &c.* But I am miſtaken if the whole Bible yields any *one Inſtance* of a *CONVERTED Hypocrite.*

Thirdly: You have done more in your *Practiſes,* toward the *Vindication* of *Atheiſm,* then all that ever went before ye: and he that overlooks our Story, from 1640, to 1660, will find matter, not only to ſtagger a Weak Chriſtian, but to put a Wiſeman to a Second Thought, and make him Exclaim with the Prophet;

Pſalm 73. v. 12. [*Lo, Theſe are the Ungodly, Theſe Proſper in the World, and Theſe have Riches in Poſſeſſion. Then have I cleanſed my Heart in vain, and waſhed my Hands in Innocency,*

To ſee the ſame Men, *Swearing* to day, *with their Hands lifted up unto the Lord, in a Holy Covenant, to* Defend, *and* Preſerve His Majeſties Perſon: And a while after, with the ſame Conſecrated Lips, *bleſſing* that *Curſed Vote,* that manifeſtly led to his *Deſtruction.* (The *Vote* of *Non-Addreſſes*)

Addreſſes) To ſee *Miniſters*, like ſo many *Pulpit-Weather-cocks*, *ſhifting* from *Party* to *Party*, till they have run through every Point of the Compaſs: *Swearing*, and *Counter-Swearing*: And when the City was ſplit into more *Factions*, then *Pariſhes*, ſtill to maintein, that *the whole Schiſm was Acted by the Holy Ghoſt*. To find the Pulpit Trading only in *dark*, and *Oraculous Deluſions*, inſtead of *plain*, and *ſaving Truths*; and the Pretended *Meſſengers* of *Peace*, turn'd *Agents* for *Blood*: To *hear*, and *ſee* all *This*, and *More*, and the *Cauſe proſper* too, What could the Invention of Man add more to this *Temptation* to *Apoſtacy*?

Laſtly; Your *Neceſſitated Toleration*, (*Neceſſitated*, I ſay; for you could never have Cruſh'd the Government without it) ſtarted ſo many lewd Opinions, that it was ſome Degree of *Modeſty*, for fear of a *worſe choice*, e'en to be of *No Religion at all*: And without Diſpute, many People finding it left ſo Indifferent, of *what* Religion they were, became Themſelves *as* Indifferent, whether they were of *Any*, or *No*. So that the *Scandal* which you would ſpitefully faſten upon the *Perſons* of ſome of *our Party*, is found to be *Radical*, and *Conſtitutional*,

in the very *Elements* of *yours*. Neither is it All, that your *Imputation* is *miſplaced*; but I am afraid you'l find your ſelf in *Another Miſtake*.

Which of the Two, do you account the more Tolerable; *SCANDAL*, or *Schiſm?*

N. C. **If by *SCHISM* you mean *A Refuſal to joyn with That Church, where I cannot Communicate without Sin*; And if by *SCANDAL*, you intend *ſuch Actions as are of evil Example, and miniſter Occaſion to our Neighbour, of Falling*: I think 'tis eaſily Determin'd, that the *One* is not to be *ſuffer'd*, and the *Other* not to be *condemn'd*.**

C. I do not ſpeak of This or That *ſort*, or *degree* of *Schiſm*, and *Scandal*; but in the juſt *Latitude*, both of the *One*, and the *Other*. That is to ſay, (without more Circumſtance) Which do you take for the more Tolerable Miſchief of the Two?

N. C. **Truly, betwixt a *Perverſe Separation*, and a *Notorious Scandal*, I think the Choice is hard; but I rather incline againſt the *Scandal*.**

C. Now, if ye will believe *Sir Francis Bacon*, *Schiſm* is *Both*; [Hereſies, *and* Schiſms

Schiſms (ſays he) *are of all others*, the greateſt Scandals; *yea more then* Corruption of Manners.] Eſſay of Unity of Religion.

Conſider it, as it ſtands in Oppoſition to *Unity*. (which is the *Bond* both of *Religion*, and *Society*) What can be more *Scandalous*, then that which renders *Religion*, *Ridiculous*? And That's the Effect of *Schiſm*. To ſee ſo many *Sects*, grinning one upon another, and yet *All Pretending* to the ſame *One*, and *Infallible Spirit*. Beſide, that *Schiſme* ſeldome or never goes *alone*; and in Truth, it is but *Sedition*, in a *Diſguiſe*: For we find, that our *Scrupulous Diſſenters*, can with much *Eaſe*, and *Unity*, Agree in a *War*, though not in a *Ceremony*.

N. C. And may there not be *Conſpiracies* in *Scandal*, as well as in *Schiſm*? *There*, with an Evident *Deſign* to bring *Contempt* upon *Religion*: Whereas *Here*, we find at leaſt a *Colour*, and *Pretenſe* to *uphold* it. Further; the Sins which I accompt *Scandalous*, are many of them Levell'd at the *Prerogative* of *God Himſelf*; and in ſhort, the Queſtion is not, properly, and ſimply, betwixt *Schiſm*, and *Scandal*; but betwixt *Schiſm*, and all other Sins whatſoever, that may be Propagated by *Converſations*,

versation, (for That's the Latitude of *Scandal*.)

Again, let me observe from your own Mouth, that *Heresies* are *Scandals*: and several Heresies you know, both by the Laws of *God*, and *Man*, are Punish'd with *Death*: *He that Blasphemeth the Name of the Lord, shall be put to Death*. From whence you may gather some Difference sure, betwixt the Heinousness of the *One*, and of the *Other*.

Numb. 24 16.

C. You will proceed by a very Uncertain Rule, to measure the *Sin* by the *Punishment*: for *Political Laws* regard rather *Publique Conveniences*, then *Particular Cases* of *Conscience*. A Man shall lose his *Life* for *Picking a Pocket*, and but hazzard his *Ears* for a *False Oath*.

But if you'l refer the Matter to the *Just*, and *Infallible Judge* of all the World, to *God Himself*; look but into that Dreadful Judgment upon the *Schism* of *Korah*. Korah, Dathan, &c. *rose against* Moses, *with Two hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and said unto them*, Ye take too much upon You, since all the Congregation is Holy, even

Numb. 16. 1.

Vers. 3.

even every One of them, and the Lord is among them. *Wherefore then lift ye your selves above the* Congregation of the Lord?

[And what follow'd?] *The Earth open'd her Mouth, and swallow'd them up with their Families, and all the Men that were with* Korah, *&c. A Fire came out from the Lord, and Consumed the Two Hundred and Fifty Men that Offer'd the Incense.* This set the *Multitude* a *muttering* against *Moses*, and *Aaron*; saying, Ye have killed the People of the Lord.

See now, what came of This *Muttering* too: Fourteen Thousand Seven Hundred of them were consumed by a Plague.

You have here, not only a Dreadful Instance of *God's Wrath* against *Schism*; but against a *Schism* also, carry'd on, in the *Stile* of *Our present Non-Conformists*: Two Hundred and Fifty Captains of the Assembly, Famous in the Congregation; Which Our *English* Translation renders,

Verse 32.

Verse 35.

Verse 41.

Verse 49.

An

Disc. of Relig. p. 25

An Intelligent, Sober sort of Men, Numerous among all Ranks, &c. These rose against *Moses*, and *Aaron*, and said unto Them, Ye take too much upon You. The Congregation is Holy, and the Lord is among Them. Wherefore do ye lift your selves above the Congregation of the Lord? What is This, but the Language of Our Age, the common Objection against the *Bishops*, for *Lording it over God's Heritage*. The Consequences I leave before you.

A

N. C. Give me leave now to pass an Observation upon your whole Discourse. You seem to have been very Punctual, and Methodical in the Distribution of the Parts of it. A *Toleration*, or *No Toleration*, was the Question. An *Universal Toleration* you found too *Wide*; A *Limited Toleration* too *Narrow*; and yet after all *This*, your Opinion was, that a *Toleration* under such and such *Modifications*, and *Restrictions* might be *admitted*: Upon which Terms,

Terms, I was content to come to an Issue with You. Now, since this Tender of a Compliance, You have not proceeded, Methinks, with that Candour which I expected from You. But the Main Stress of your Argument lies against the *Whole Party* of the *Non-Conformists*; And (in effect) against *any Toleration at all*: with little or no Regard to those *Accommodable Points*, that might have brought the Matter in Difference to some sort of Composure.

C. It is very True, That I am utterly against *Tolerating* the *Whole Party*, as a Thing of Certain *Inconvenience*, to *Religion*, and *Government*; and to the Ruine, no less of *your selves*, then of the *Publique*. Will *Presbytery* ever satisfie the *Independents Conscience?* Or will *Liberty* any better suit with the *Presbyterians?* And yet you could both of you joyn with the *Directory*, against the *Common-Prayer*; with the Authority of the Pretended *Assembly*, against That of the *Church*; wherein you have given Proof to the World, that yau were not *United* upon any Consideration of *Conscience*, but with a *Design* upon a *Common Booty*. Ye overturn'd the Government, Divided the

the Spoil, Enrich't your ſelves, *Embroiled every thing*, and *Settled Nothing*. And yet in thoſe Days there was no Act of Uniformity to hinder you.

This is enough to make Evident, that the *Non-Conformiſts* are *Intolerable*, in *Conjunction*: But if you think fit to make a Tryal, how far any *ſort* of them may agree with our *Standard* of *Toleration*, *Apart*, Plead you the Cauſe of the *Preſbyterians*, and let your Brother *Independent* here, (that has been a Witneſs to our whole Debate) take up the Cudgels for *his own Party*; Not forgetting, that

In the Queſtion of *TOLERATION*, the Foundation of *FAITH, GOOD LIFE*, and *GOVERNMENT* is to be Secur'd.

N. C. **According to what Latitude are we to underſtand that which you call the *Foundation* of *FAITH*?**

C. According to the Latitude of the *APOSTLES CREED*; wherein are conteined *All the Articles of Simple Faith, which are Neceſſary to be Explicitly*

Chillingworth's Safe way, &c. p. 186.

ly Believed.] And whatſoever was found by *Them*, to be *Neceſſary*, and *Sufficient* to *Salvation*, continues ſo ſtill, and ought to be ſo *Received*, and *Acknowledged* by *Us*: without inſiſting upon *Deductions*, and *Conſequences*, as Points of *Prime*, and *Fundamental Neceſſity*; though *Occaſionally*, and *Obliquely*, they become Neceſſary *too*. *This is the Word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou ſhalt Confeſs with thy Mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raiſed him from the Dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.* Rom. 10. 8 Here's the *Foundation* of *FAITH*: And in That of *GOOD LIFE*, reſpect is to be had to *Morality*, that nothing be *Tolerated* to the Encouragement of *Looſneſs*, *Senſuality*, and *Diſſolution* of *Manners*.

As there is an Abſolute *Neceſſity* of Providing againſt Doctrines and Opinions of this Quality; ſo I think there will be no great *Difficulty*, either of *Diſcovering*, or of *Suppreſſing* them: For they are of a Condition ſo *Notorious*, that they ly open to all People: and then ſo *Odious* they are, by reaſon of the Groſs *Impiety*, and *Scandal*; that they have no *Friends* upon the Face of the Earth, (for their *own* ſakes, I mean) but the profeſt Enemies

of

Christianity, and *Nature*. (It is another Case, when they are made use of in Subserviency to a *Faction*.) So that you may save your selves the Trouble of Catechising your Brethren upon These two Points, and rather spend your Time upon the remaining Caution, for *Securing* the *Government*: which will be much more to Our Purpose; For the Matter we are now upon, is a Question, rather of *Policy*, then of *Religion*.

B

Tole-

Toleration Diſcuſs'd,

BETWIXT A

PRESBYTERIAN,

AND AN

INDEPENDENT.

SECT. XXV.

Upon a Short, and Impartial Survey *of the* Riſe, Progreſs, *and* Iſſue *of the* War, *raiſed by the* Two Houſes *in* 1641. *The* PRESBYTERIANS *are found to be more* Criminal *then the* INDEPENDENTS.

Presb. IN all our Arguments, and Pleas for *Toleration*, we are ſtill bit in the Teeth, (as in War to our Demands) with *Dangerous Practiſes*, and *Opinions*; The *Murther* of the *Late King*; The *Over-turning* of the *Government*; and that we have a mind

to

to serve the *Son*, as we did the *Father*. Now forasmuch as the *Fact* is *undeniable*; and truly the *Exception* but *Reasonable*, as to those that did it; *We* are *first* to clear our selves of that Execrable Fact; wherein I am content to become an Undertaker for the *Presbyterians*) And to speak *afterward*, to the Justification of our *Principles*, and *Opinions*.

Indep. Give me leave then to Plead the Cause of the *Independents*; and to observe to you, in the first place, that the *Scotch Non-Conformists* under King *James* were Totally *Presbyterian*: and so were the *English Puritans* under Queen *Elizabeth*.

Presb. Were the *Anabaptists*, *Familists*, and *Brownists*, that started up in Those Days, *Presbyterians*?

Indep. Some *Dutch Anabaptists* came over indeed in 1560; but one Proclamation scatter'd them Immediately. And then for the *Familists*, and *Brownists*, you speak of; Alas! They gave the *Executioner* more Trouble then the *Government*, and were Suppress't as soon as Detected. 4 But the Formal, and *United Confederacy* was still *Presbyterian*; and you must overthrow all the *Memorials*, and *Records* of

of Those Times to gainsay it. Briefly; If you look forward, you will find the *Presbyterians* again under King *James*, at *Hampton Court*; The *Presbyterians* again, in the several Parliaments under King *Charles* the *First*; and so the same Hand still, to the beginning of the *Scottish Broils* in 1637. which was but the *Midwifry* of the Plot, they had been so long a Hammering.

Presb. **You make nothing, it seems, of the Turbulent** *Independents*, **that went away to** *New England*, *Holland*, **and other Parts beyond the Seas, with all the Clamour, and Rancour Imaginable against the Government.** A

Indep. Not to Justifie them in their *Clamour*; I must yet recommend their *Departure*, as a fair Testimony that they withdrew upon *Conscience*. For by this Secession, they put themselves out of Condition to carry on a Faction: Whereas The *Presbyterians*, that had a further Design in Prospect, stood their Ground, watch'd their Advantages, and gain'd their End. B

Presb. **All this is but** *Talk*, **without** *Proof*.

Indep. It will be granted, I suppose, that the *Scottish Tumults* in 1637. and

T the

the *Rebellion* upon the neck of them, in 1638 were advanc'd upon a *Presbyterian* accompt: and conſequently, that Thoſe were of the ſame Leven, that Voted them *Good Subjects*, and *Money* for their pains, and Adopted them their *DEAR BRETHREN*, for ſo doing.

Were not the *Principals* of the Faction in the *Long Parliament*, every Man of them *Presbyterian*? Were not the *Army*, and *Aſſembly*, *Presbyterian*; And all their *Votes*, *Actions*, and *Concluſions* Influenc'd accordingly? Who were they that Invited the *Scots* into *England* the Second time; (*Nov* 7. 1647.) That Impoſed the *Covenant*; Proſecuted the *War*, under the Countenance of it; and made it the Teſt of Diſcrimination, betwixt the *Malignant*, and *Well affected Parties*: That Settled the *Directory*, Nay the *Presbytery* it ſelf? Were not Theſe, *Presbyterians*?

Ex Coll. P. 737.

Who were they, but *Presbyterians*, that ſtripp'd the King of his *Regalities*, and *Revenues*; *Commiſſion'd* an *Army* againſt him; *Fought* him, *Purſu'd* him; and in fine, brought him to utter *Ruine*?

Presb. **You will find the Late King of another Opinion, in his Grand Declaration, of** *Aug.* **12. 1642. where he complains of the** *Tumultuous Aſſemblies* of

of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Sectaries*. Ex. Coll. P. 532.

Indep. But still you will find in the same *Page*, that These very People were Animated, and Countenanced, by *Presbyterians*; and Acted, as the *Creatures*, and *Servants*, of *That Interest*.

Presb. *Can you say that the* **English**, *or* **Scottish Presbyters** *did ever go about to Dissolve* **Monarchy**? Interest of Engl. P. 44.

Indep. Yes: And I do aver, that the *Nineteen Propositions* of *June* 2. 1642. were as much a *Dissolution* of *Kingly Government*, as the very Act it self (of *March* 17. 1648.) for *Abolishing* it. And the *Uxbridge Propositions* were to the same purpose. Ex. Coll. P. 307. Scobel's Acts, Part 2. pa. 7.

Presb. **You know very well, that after the** *New-Modelling* **of the** *Army*, **the** *Presbyterians* **were able to do nothing; and this was a good while before the King went to the** *Scots*.

Indep. Let us see then how the *Presbyterians* behaved themselves, after his Majesty cast himself into the Protection of the *Scotch* Army before *Newark*, in *May*, 1646.

Notice was Immediately given of it, to the *Two Houses*, by the *Commissioners* of the *Army*; Importing their Adherence

to the *Covenant*, and *Treaty*; and that they had no fore-knowledge of his Majesties Coming. The *English Army* presently March'd with 5000 *Horse*, and *Dragoons*, toward *Newark*; and our *Brethren* fairly retreated with the Prey in the Foot toward *Newcastle*. After This, Both Parties stood at Gaze for several Months; but not without a World of Tedious Papers, betwixt the *Scotch Commissioners*, and the *Two Houses*, touching *their Joynt Right in Disposing of the Person of the King*. But in the Conclusion, The *Presbyterians* Compounded the Controversie for the Sum of 400000 *l* In *May* they took their *Sovereign* into their *Protection*; In the *December* following, they *Sold* him; and in *February* they *Deliver'd* him *up*; And All This, *According to their* COVENANT.

Presb. **They must needs** *Deliver* **him** *up*, **when they could** *Keep* **him no longer.**

Indep. They had at that time the City of *London* to *Friend*; a *Balancing Vote* in the *House of Commons*; a Considerable Mixture in the *Army*; *Scotland behind* them; (Entire, if ever the Kings Interest came in Play) And at least *Ten Thousand* Men in a Body. (The *Royal Party* over and

and above.) So that here was no visible *Force* to *over-awe* them: And *Lowdon* himself acknowledged as much, at a Conference (*Octob.* 6. 1646.) *If any such Course shall be taken* (says he) *or any Demand made for Rendring of his Person, which cannot stand with his* Honour, *and* Safety; *or which cannot consist with our* Duty, Allegeance, *and* COVENANT; *nor with the* Honour *of That* Army, *to whom (in time of his Extreme Danger) he had his Recourse for* Safety: *It cannot be Expected that we can be Capable of* SO BASE AN ACT: And if (*to shun this, and avoid occasion of Quarrelling between the Kingdoms*) *He shall go to* Scotland, *and resent his Expulsion out of* England; *and crave the Assistance of That Kingdom for Recovery of his Right to This Crown: He may in a short time, raise such Forces in* Scotland, *and* Ireland, *as with the Assistance of* Forreign Princes, *these Kingdoms may be made a Field of Blood, &c.*

By This, it appears Evidently, that They were under no Necessity of Delivering the King: And you may now see their Opinion of the Action it self. [*If it be Contrary* (say the *Scotch Commissioners*) *to the Law, and Common Practise of* Answer to the Vote of Sept. 24. 1646.

Nations, to Deliver up the meaneſt Subject *fled to them, though it be for the Greateſt Crimes; How much more would the World abroad condemn our* Army, *for a* BASE, DISHONOURABLE *Act, if they ſhould Deliver up their* Head, *and* SOVEREIGN, (*having caſt himſelf into their Hands*) *to be Diſpoſed of at the Arbitrament of another Nation!*

Presb. **But yet you ſaw that they** *Condition'd* **for his** *Honour, Freedom,* **and** *Safety.*

Indep. That's a Shuffle: For upon ſuch Terms did they render him, that they might have caſt a *Sheep* into a Herd of *Wolves*, with as much *Confidence*, and *Likelihood* of *Safety*. You are here to diſtinguiſh the *Faction* of *Scotland*, from the *Nation*: No Country affording greater Inſtances of *Honour*, and *Loyalty*. Nay, I have heard (even on This Occaſion) that upon the Kings Earneſt Deſire to go for *Scotland*, It was carried in the *Negative* but by *Two Voices*.

Presb. **Can you Imagine, that if they had apprehended any Danger to his** *Royal Perſon*, **they would not have ventur'd their Lives a thouſand times over, to have ſav'd him?**

Indep.

Indep. No, no: But on the Contrary; They *foresaw* the Danger, *debated* it; and yet *expos'd* him: Nay, which is still worse, they *reserv'd* him for it. Were not his Majesties Friends kept from him, by a strict Order, at *Newcastle?* Was he not *Spied*, and *Guarded*, for fear of an *Escape?* And upon Information, that He intended one, Was not a *narrower Watch* set over him?

That they foresaw the Danger, is confest by the *Chancellor* Himself. *Lest we should walk in the Dark*, (says he) *upon Obscurity of Ambiguous Words, I shall desire that the Word of* **Disposing of the Kings Person**, *may be rightly understood. For* Dolus versatur in Universalibus. *For* to Dispose of the Person of the King, as *Both Houses*, or *Both Kingdoms* shall think fit, *may in some sense be to* DEPOSE, *or* WORSE. And in a Speech to his Majesty, he goes yet further. *If your Majesty* (says he) *shall refuse to assent to the Propositions*; (*which God forbid*) *you will lose all your Friends, lose the City, and the Country*; *and All* England *will joyn against you as one Man*: *And* (*when all hope of Reconciliation is past*) *it is to be feared they will Process, and Depose you, and set up another Go-*

vernment. Upon your Majeſties refuſing the Propoſitions, both Kingdoms will be Conſtreined (for their mutual Safety) to **Agree, and Settle Religion, and Peace without you**: *which (to our unſpeakable Grief) will ruine your Majeſty, and your Poſterity. And if your Majeſty reject our Faithful Advice, and loſe* England *by your* **Wilfulneſs, your Majeſty will not be permitted to come and ruine** *Scotland.*

Preſ. **These Propoſitions, I ſuppoſe, were of Abſolute Neceſſity to the Well-Being of the Publique; they would never have been brought in Competition elſe with the Kings** *Freedom, Life,* **and** *Dignity.*

Indep. The King was *firſt, to Juſtifie the Proceedings of the Two Houſes,* and to deliver up to *Death, Beggery,* and *Infamy* his Whole *Party.*

2. *To Settle the* Militia *of* England, *and* Ireland, *in the Hands of the* Parliament, for Twenty Years; *giving them Authority to raiſe* Men, *and* Moneys.

3. *To make void all* Honours *ſince* 1642; *and no* Peers *admitted for the future, to Sit and Vote in* Parliament, *but by Conſent of* Both Houſes: who were likewiſe *To diſpoſe of all* Great Places, *and* Offices *of* Honour, *in* England, *and* Ireland.

4. *His*

4. *His Majeſty was to Swear, and Sign the* COVENANT, *and Command the taking of it throughout the Three Kingdoms; Abolishing* Epiſcopacy, *and* **Settling Religion as Both Houſes ſhould Agree.**

Upon his Majeſties Refuſal to Sign Theſe Propoſitions, the *Scotch Declaration* of *Jan.* 16. 1646. tells us, That *there would be a Joynt Courſe taken by Both Kingdoms* concerning the Diſpoſal of His Majeſties Perſon.——*With Reſpect had to the* Safety, *and* Preſervation *of his* Royal Perſon, *IN THE PRESERVATION, AND DEFENCE OF THE TRUE RELIGION, AND LIBERTIES OF THE KINGDOMS*—— *According to the COVENANT.* And According to the *COVENANT*, His Majeſties Perſon was Diſpoſed of.

Presb. **And do you believe that the** *Two Houſes* **would have uſed the King any better, if he had gone to Them?**

They made it *Treaſon* **Immediately, and** *Death without Mercy*, **for any Man to Harbour, and Conceal the Kings Perſon; upon a Suppoſition, that his Majeſty was then in** *London*. **This was the fourth of** *May*; **and on the ſixth, The** *Commons* **Voted him to** *Warwick*

wick Caſtle: which was Unvoted again upon the ninth. In *June*, the Kings going to the *Scots*, was Voted *A Deſign to Prolong the War*. And this was as much the Action of the *Independents*, as the Other was of the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. Pardon me there, I beſeech ye. You ſee by the Voting *Back* and *Forward*, that the Houſe of Commons was upon a hard Tug, but the *Scottiſh Party* was totally *Presbyterian*.

But will you hear the *Kirk* ſpeak for it ſelf, after the putting of the King into *Engliſh Hands? They Exhort their* COVENANTED BRETHREN, (the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*) *to hold faſt their Solemn League and Covenant: to entertein a Brotherhood, and Unity between the Nations*, (Feb. 12. 1646.) (but not a Syllable of the *King*) Again, (*June* 18. 1647.) *The* General Aſſembly *of the* Kirk, *preſſes the* Two Houſes *to a ſpeedy Eſtabliſhment of the* Presbytery: (but not a Word again of his Majeſty.) And in truth, their *Silence* is a Favour, conſidering how they order him, when they ſpeak of him: As you may obſerve in a Reſolve of theirs, upon a Queſtion Debated at *Edinburgh*.

If

If the King be Excluded from Government *in* England, *for not Granting the* Propoſitions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and for not giving a Satisfactory Anſwer to the* Remanent Propoſitions: *Whether in That Caſe it be Lawful for this Kingdom to aſſiſt him, for the Recovery of the Government, or whether it be not Lawful?*

Being put to it, We cannot but Anſwer, in regard of the Engagement *of This Kingdom, by* Covenant, *and* Treaty, *NEGATIVE.* ☜

Reſolved upon the Queſtion,

1. *That the Kingdom of* Scotland, *ſhall be Governed as it hath been theſe laſt Five Years; All Means being uſed, that the* King *might take the* Covenant, *and Paſs the* Propoſitions.

2. *That the taking of the* Scots Covenant, *and Paſſing* ſome *of the* Propoſitions, *doth not give Warrant to aſſiſt him againſt* England.

3. *That upon bare taking the* National Covenant, *we may not receive him.*

4. *That the Clauſe in the* Covenant, *for* Defence of the Kings Perſon, *is to be underſtood,* in Defence, and Safety of the Kingdoms.

5. *That*

5. *That the King ſhall not Execute any Power in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *until ſuch time that he hath Granted the* Propoſitions *concerning* Religion, *and the* Covenant; *and given a Satisfactory Anſwer to Both Kingdoms in the reſt of the* Propoſitions, *preſented to him by both Kingdoms at* Newcaſtle.

6. *That if his Majeſty refuſe to Paſs the* Propoſitions, he ſhall be diſpoſed of according to the *COVENANT*, *and* Treaty.

7. *That the Union be firmly kept between the Kingdoms, according to the* Covenant, *and the* Treaties.

Here's *PRESBYTERIAN LOYALTY*: If the King would have conſented *to give up his Crown*; *Blaſt his Conſcience*; *Betray his Truſt*, *and Sacrifice his Friends*; he might perchance have been allow'd the *Pageantry* of a *Court*, and ſome *Mock-Properties* of *Royalty*: but upon other Terms, the *Kirk* you ſee gives him no Quarter.

The King is now under the Care of his new *Governours*; *Holdenby* is his *Priſon*; The *Queſtion* is Matter of *Church-Government*; and his Majeſty is preſt to an

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Alteration. Some Two Months are ſpent in the fruitleſs Deſires, and Expectations of his *Chaplains*, for his Advice, and Comfort: and any *Two* (of *Twelve* in Nomination) would ſatisfie his Majeſty. But *That could not be*; (they ſaid) No, *not a Common-Prayer-Book for his own Private Uſe.* Theſe were the *Preſbyterians* ſtill.

Upon the fourth of *June* 1647. *Cornet Joyce*, with a Party of Horſe took the King from *Holdenby*; under colour of preventing other Secret Deſigns upon the Perſon of his Majeſty. The next day, at a *Rendezvouz* near *Newmarket*, was Read, and Signed The *Armies ENGAGEMENT*: compleining of the *Two Houſes*, and in particular, of a Vote they had Paſt for *Diſbanding* the *Army.* (Where Note, that the *Houſes* were ſtill *Presbyterian*) The Sum of their *ENGAGEMENT* was: That *they would Diſband, upon full Satisfaction received, and not without it.* This *Liberty* was menag'd all this while, with much Formality of *Duty*, and *Reſpect*: The *Houſes* at every Turn advertis'd concerning the *King's Motions*: and (*June* the 9th) conſulted how further to Diſpoſe of his Majeſty. Some Three days after, the Army drew toward

London,

London, and *Alarm'd* the *City*: (contrary to an Expreſs *Order* of the *Houſes*, the very day before) A Months Pay was their Errand, and to ſave Carriage, they made a ſtep from *Royſton* to *St. Albans* to receive it.

On *June* the 15, out comes a Terrible *Repreſentation*, with *Deſires* from the *Army*, Againſt all *Arbitrary Powers*, and *Intereſts* whatſoever: Pleading the *Presbyterian Preſidents*, and the *Principles* of the *Two Houſes* in their *Juſtification*.

The Parliament (ſay they) *hath Declar'd it no Reſiſting of Magiſtracy, to ſide with the Juſt Principles, and Law of* Nature, *and* Nations; (being That Law upon which we have aſſiſted you) *and that the Souldiery may Lawfully hold the Hands of the General, who will turn his Cannon upon his Army, on purpoſe to deſtroy them.* They Demanded, *The Purging of the Houſes*; and *Retrenching the Power of Committees*; *An Accompt for Publique Moneys*; *A Period of the Preſent Seſſion, and Limits for the Future, &c.*

It could not chuſe but Gall the *Two Houſes*, to ſee their Throats cut with their own Weapons: but ſtill they kept up their Greatneſs of *Pretenſe*, and *Stile*;

Stile; and by an *Order* as *Imperative* as ever, they commanded the Placing of his Majeſty at *Richmond*; in Order to a *Treaty*, forſooth, *for a Safe, and Well-grounded Peace*, But the Army had another Game to Play; However, what the *Presbyterians* would have done upon that Occaſion, may be ſeen in what they did afterward, at the *Iſle of Wight*, in his Majeſties laſt Diſtreſs, and Extremity.

Presb. **You are willing, I find, to paſs over the Barbariſm of the** *Independents* **toward his Majeſty, while they had him at** *Hampton-Court*; **but there is enough yet behind, to make That Faction Odious to all Eternity.**

Indep. Truly no: but I would not ſpin out a *Debate* to the length of a *Hiſtory*. As to the *Barbariſms* you ſpeak of, let his Majeſty Himſelf be heard.

Colonel Whaley, *I have been ſo civilly uſed by* You, *and Major* Huntington, *that I cannot but by this parting Farewell, acknowledge it under my Hand.* Nov. 11. 1647. And again; from *Carisbrook Caſtle* to the *General*, *Nov.* 27. 1647. *The Free Liberty which you willingly afforded us to have of the Uſe of our Own* Chaplains, *makes us at this time not only*

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to Acknowledge your Former Civilities, but, &c. So that His Majeſties Condition appears to have been ſomewhat more eaſie at *Hampton-Court*, then before it was at *Holdenby*. Nay, moſt certain it is, that the *Presbyterians*, even at That very Time, did the Deadly Thing that brought the King to the *Scaffold*.

Presb. **How could That be; when the** *Two Houſes*, **by** *Purging*, **and** *Modelling*, **were Subjected Abſolutely to the Devotion of the** *Army*?

Indep. Thus they did it. His Majeſty was at That time, upon fair Terms with *Cromwel*, and *Ireton*; and not without large hopes of a Final Accommodation. (The Author of *The Hiſtory of Independency*, (Pa. 35.) is poſitive, as to *their Treating with the King*) While This was in Agitation, the *Presbyterians* were at work on the other hand, to break the King's Confidence in the *Army*; by Imputations of *Treachery*, and *Levity*: to divert his Majeſty to the Seeking of Relief elſwhere; with particular Undertakings of great Matters from *Scotland*, and the City of *London*. This way of Tampering might very well put the King to a ſtand: which *Cromwel* no ſooner perceived, but he Immediately betook

him-

himself to a Course of Extremity: Irritated (over and above, as is credibly affirmed) by an Advise from *Argyle*, in confirmation of his Jealousie.

His Majesties next Remove was to the *Isle of Wight*: Where, for Ceremonies sake, he was presented with *Four Bills*; and upon his Refusal to pass them, followed the Vote of *NON-ADDRESSES*. *In Passing these Bills*, His Majesty had not only divested *Himself*, and His *Successors*, of all *Sovereignty*; but Subjected his People to the *Basest*, and most *Absolute Tyranny* that ever was Exercis'd upon Mortals.

Presb. **You will not call This the Act of the** *Presbyterians*, **I hope.**

Indep. No, I will not: But yet I must tell you, that the *Presbyterians*, upon this Juncture, did every jote as much as this Amounts to.

So soon as the *Parliament* of *Scotland* was thoroughly Inform'd of the Distress, and Danger of the King's Condition, the Matter was presently Debated; and a Resolution taken to Raise an Army for his Majesties Relief. In which Proceeding, they were violently opposed by the *General Assembly*, without any regard at all to the *King's Life*, at that time in Question.

See *The Humble Desires of the* Commissioners *of the* General Assembly *to the* Parliament, *Pag.* 13. (*We desire that his Majesties late* Concessions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *as they have been by the* Church, *so may be by the* Parliament *declared* UNSATISFACTORY. (*March* 22. 1648.) And afterward:

Ibid. p. 60. (*Jan.* 10. 1648.) *That his Majesties late* Concessions, *and* Offers *concerning* Religion, *may by your Lordships*, DIRECTLY, *and* POSITIVELY, *be* Declared UNSATISFACTORY *to this present Parliament. And that there shall be no* Engagement *for* Restoring *his Majesty to one of his Houses, with Honour, Freedom, and Safety, before Security, and Assurance be had from his Majesty, by his Solemn* OATH, *under his* HAND, *and* SEAL, *that he shall for* HIMSELF, *and his* SUCCESSORS, *Consent, and Agree to Acts of Parliament, enjoyning the League and* Covenant, *and fully Establishing* Presbyterian Government, Directory *of Worship, and* Confession of Faith *in all his Majesties Dominions: and that his Majesty shall never make Opposition to any of these, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

This is Rivetted with a Mischief. And pray'e

pray'e shew me now the Material Difference, between Precluding His Majesty by a Vote of *NO ADDRESS*, or by a Resolution of *NO AGREEMENT*: His *Honour*, and *Conscience* being equally at Stake on either side.

To give you the Sum of all in short. A
The *Presbyterians began* the War; *Pursu'd* it; made the *King* a *Prisoner*; *Sold* him; and in the Depth of his Calamity, presented him with *Temptation*, instead of *Comfort*. No *Composition* would be heard of, but the *Forfeiture* of his *SOUL*, for the *Saving* of his *LIFE*.

Presb. **But the** *Independents* **however,** *Crown'd* **the Wickedness with his** *Blood.*

Indep. Suppose it so: *They* did only *Execute* the Sentence, but the *Presbyterians* Pronounc'd it. Neither did they *Execute* it, as *Independents*; or under colour of any Impulse of *Religion*, or *Conscience*, but upon *Civil*, and *Political Pretexts*. He *was adjudged to be put to Death as a* Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, *and* Publique Enemy: Not for Refusing to Enter into a *Church-Covenant*, or Establish *Liberty of Conscience*; but upon a Pestilent Motive of *Diabolical Policy*, and *State*. Whereas, the *Presbyterians* per-

secuted him as *PRESBYTERIANS*; and depriv'd him of his *Royal Support*, *Dignity*, *Friends*, *Freedom*, (in Effect) *Life* and all, because he would not renounce his *Reason*, and *Conscience*, in favour of their *Government*. And I am verily perswaded, that you will have as little to say for your *Principles*, as for your *Actions*.

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SECT. XXVI.

What Party *soever* DEMANDS a Toleration, *and yet* Mainteins, *that It is* Destructive *both of* Church, *and* State, *to* GRANT *one, Is an* ENEMY *to* BOTH.

Indep. AS to the Point in Question; It lies Naturally before us to speak first to the Thing, in it *self*; and we may afterward consider it in the *Consequences*.

9 In the Desire of a *Toleration*, the *Independents* ask no more then they would be ready to Allow; I wish the *Presbyterians* could say the like.

Presb. In the large sense of Allow-

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ing all sorts of *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, as the late *Independent Government* did, I do confess you have outdone the *Presbyterians*.

Indep. And yet Those very *Libertines*, and *Heretiques*, were *Your White-Boys*, and *Favourites*, so long as they serv'd *Your Ends*. They had none of this Language from you, when they Tumulted against *Bishops*, and *Common-Prayer*; *Ceremonies*, and *Popish Lords*. While they were the Instruments of *Your Ambition*, they were the *Godly*, *Well-affected Party*: So that *Heretiques*, it seems, will down well enough with your *Politiques*, though not with your *Consciences*: Provided they will content themselves to be *Damn'd*, and let the *Presbyterians* alone to *Govern*.

Presb. The *Independents* made sweet work in *Holland*, did they not? And where was your Spirit of *Toleration*, and *Forbearance*, I beseech you, in *New-England*?

Indep. You cannot say that we gave any Trouble in *Holland* to the *State*; or that we fell foul there upon *Different Judgments*. In *New England*, 'tis true, we excluded the *Gortonists*, *Familists*, *Seekers*, *Antinomians*, *Anabaptists*; and Subjected them to the Censure of the *Ci-*

vil Power, as People of Dangerous Principles, in Respect both of *Good Life*, and *Government*. Which Proceeding of ours methinks might serve to disabuse those that call *Independency* the *Genus Generalissimum* of all *Errours*, *Heresies*, *Blasphemies*, and *Schisms*: and take the *Church way* of *New-England*, for that sort of *Independency*. They did also exclude *Papacy*, and *Prelacy*; The *Latter*, perchance, more out of Regard to a *Temporary Convenience*, then upon any rooted Principle of Implacable *Severity*. And I perswade my self, the *Episcopal Party* will witness thus much on our Behalfs; that as to the Freedom of their *Meetings*, and way of *Worship*, in the late Revolutions, they had much better Quarter from the *Independents*, then ever they had from the *Presbyterians*: There was no Persecuting of Men for *Covenants*, and *Directories*: So that Thus far, the *Independents* have made their *Professions* of *Liberty* good, by their *Practise*.

Presb. And are not the *Classical Presbyterians* as much for a *Lawful Liberty*, as the *Congregationals*? [*Let there be a* Toleration *in Religion, excepting to* Blasphemy, Treason, *or* Gross Errours.] *Bear with the Weak*; Tolerate *the* Tolerable,

Old Non-Conf. p. 41.

lerable, *and for the* Intolerable, *we beg not your* Toleration. Here's the Sense and Desire of the *Presbyterian Divines* that were Commission'd about the Review of the *Service-Book*. Petit. for Peace, p. 20.

Indep. This is only a *New Song*, to an *Old Tune*. The *Presbyterians* have just the same need of the *Independents* at *this day*, that they had some *nine and twenty Years ago*. The Author of *The Discourse of Religion* has many good Remarques upon the *Papists*, that may be very well applied to the *Presbyterians*; and *This* for *One*. [*Things past* (says he) *may afford Prognostiques of things to come*. So that we are to gather what you *intend now*, from what you *did*, after saying the same things *before*. Or if you had rather come to a Tryal, upon the *Evidence* of your own *Manifestos*, and *Declarations*, then upon the *History* of your *Practises*; I shall make use of *no other Testimony* against you. Par. 1. p. 6.

The *Presbyterians* press the *Demand* of a *Toleration*, as a very *reasonable Request*; and yet they Themselves have pronounc'd Judgment against it, as a thing against *Conscience*, Destructive of *Publique Order* both in *Church*, and *State*, and of the Peace of *Common Society*.

Gangræna Part 3. p. 282. Ibid. 303.

Toleration (ſays Mr. *Edwards*) *cannot be Condeſcended to, without a Breach of Oath, and Covenant.* [*It is the Depth of* Satan, *this Deſign of a* Toleration. *He does not move for a* Toleration *of* Hereſies, *and* Groſs Errours; *but an Allowance of a* LATITUDE *in ſome* LESSER DIFFERENCES *with* Peaceableneſs. *This is* Candidus ille Diabolus, *That White Devil, &c.* The *London Miniſters Letter* to the *Aſſembly*, in 1645. declares it *Repugnant to the Solemn League and Covenant.* The Commiſſioners of the Kirk of *Scotland*, do *Proteſt, and Declare againſt it, as Inconſiſtent with, and Repugnant to the Word of God.*

Rutherf. Free Diſp. p. 267.

As to the Influence of a *Toleration* upon *Church*, and *State*; Mr. *Edwards* tells us, that *The Party Tolerated will never reſt Working, till they get the upper hand, and Suppreſs the Other.* *Rutherford* is poſitive, that *ſuch Opinions, and Practiſes as make an Evident Schiſm in a Church, and ſet up* two Diſtinct Churches, *of* Different Forms, *and* Government, *are* NOT *to be* Tolerated. *For by their Principles they labour, each the Deſtruction of the other; and this* Toleration *deſtroys* Peace, *and* Unity. Again, The *London Miniſters* are of Opinion, that *it will produce* [illegible]

Gangræna, p. 293.

Free Diſp. p. 98.

canſeſs,

causeless, and unjust Revolts from the Ministry, and Congregations. The Peoples Minds will be Troubled, and in Danger to be Subverted. Heart-burnings will be Fomented, and Perpetuated to Posterity. The Godly, Peinful, and Orthodox Ministers will be Discouraged, and Despis'd. The Life and Power of Godliness will be eaten up by Frivolous Disputes, and Janglings. And the whole Church of England, *in short time, will be swallowed up with Distraction, and Confusion. The* Kingdom *will be wofully weakned also, by Scandals, and Divisions: The Power of the Magistrate will not be only weakned, but utterly overthrown, by the Anti-Magistratical Principles, and Practises of the* Independents: *And the whole Course of Religion in Private* Families, *will be interrupted, and undermined.*

Not to multiply Authorities more then necessary, This has been the strein of all your Proceedings: *Imperiously,* and *Inexorably Strict*, and *Rigorous* in *Imposing* upon *Others*; and as *Shamelesly Importune*, and *Clamorous* for *Liberty* to *Your selves*. But what have I more to do, then to pass Sentence upon you, out of your own Mouths? *You cannot in* Conscience desire *a Toleration, if you understand it to*

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be Against Conſcience *to* Grant *it*. And *the very* Asking *of That which you believe would draw a* Deſtruction *upon* Church *and* State, *is Ground enough for a ſtrong Preſumption that you* Intend *it*.

Presb. **That which was a Reaſonable Cauſe of Refuſal, from the** *Presbyterians* **to the** *Independents*, **will not hold good from the Church of** *England* **to the** *Presbyterians*: **Either in reſpect of the** *Stability* **of our** *Government*, **or of the** *Sobriety* **of our** *Principles*.

SECT. XXVII.

In Caſe of a Toleration, *or* Indulgence *to be* Granted, *Whether has the fairer* Pretenſe *to it*; *The* CLASSICAL Way *of the* PRESBYTERIANS, *or the* CONGREGATIONAL Way *of the* INDEPENDENTS; *in Reſpect of their* Form *of* Government.

Indep. THe *Presbyterians* (you ſay) are rather to be *Tolerated* then the *Independents*, in regard of the *Stability* of their *Government*, and the *Sobriety* of their *Principles*. To ſpeak in this

this Place to the Matter of their *Government*; I think your *Argument* is very *ill grounded*. For in Deliberations of this Nature, the Cautions that occur to all Magistrates are chiefly These Two. *First*, in case of an *Indulgence*, that it may be placed upon a Party, which in Probability, *would not* disturb the Publique if they *could*; But *Secondly*, to make sure however, (for fear of the worst) that they shall not be *able* to do it, if they *would*. So that whether a *Stable*, and *United*, or a *Loose*, and *Distracted Interest* may with more *Security* be *Indulged*, is the *Question*.

Presb. **You may as well ask, Whether** *Order*, **or** *Confusion* **be more** *Tolerable* **in a** *Government*.

Indep. That *Order* which is *Necessary* in the *Government* it *self*, is *Dangerous* in the *Enemies* of it. But deliver your *Exceptions* to the *Toleration* of those which you call *Independents*, in Regard of their way of *Government*.

Presb. **You have already, in a good part, sav'd me that Labour. But a Man shall not need to go further for an** *Exception*, **then to the very** *Denomination* **of them; which Imports an Exemption from all** *Jurisdiction*, **both** *Ecclesiastical*, **and** *Civil*.

Indep.

Indep. But what will become of That Exception, when I ſhall tell you, that thoſe People are no more *Independent*, then the *Presbyterians?* [*We depend upon the* Magiſtrate *for* Civil Government, *and* Protection; *and upon* Chriſt, *and his Word, for the Rule of our Adminiſtrations.* Nay, we inſiſt upon it, that the Congregational *Way, is the only true, Original* Presbytery, *which is Peculiar to every Particular Church of Chriſt.* But if you call us *Independent*, as in diſtinction to *Subordinate*, we are not only ready, as ſuch *Independents*, to defend our ſelves; but by virtue of That very *Independency*, we pretend to claim an Advantage over the *Presbyterians.*

Cotton's Way, p. 11.

Burton's Vind. p. 18.

Presb. **I could tell ye of your** *Church-Covenants*, **and** *Defenſive Leagues*, **againſt the Commands of Authority.**

Indep. But I could ſpeak homer to you, of your *National Leagues* and *Covenants*; which all the World knows, are the grand Engines to disjoynt Communities, and remove the Foundations of Government. And I do not much wonder at it, where *the Act of a General Aſſembly, Influences the Conſciences of a whole Nation.* As to any *Covenants*, and *Leagues* againſt the *Magiſtrate*; neither do the *Independents*

dents practiſe them, nor would they ſtand them in any ſtead, if they had a mind to play the Villeins; for want of an Orderly *Dependence*, to *unite*, and to *oblige* them.

Presb. **And for That Reaſon, you Imagine, the** *Independents* **may be better** *Tolerated*, **then the** *Presbyterians.*

Indep. Truly for That Main Reaſon, with Twenty Great ones more in the Belly of it.

It were a wild thing for a Man to apprehend any danger to a Government, from a Faction that is Divided, and Diſtracted within it ſelf; and without any Common Tye of Agreement to Unite it. And This do I take to be the Condition of the *Independents*, (which for Diſcourſe ſake, we will ſuppoſe to be a *Faction.*) Their *Congregations* are generally *ſmall*; The Members of them, gather'd up here and there, and ſo Scattered, and Intermix'd with People of other Perſwaſions, that they have neither *Opportunity*, nor *Encouragement* to joyn in a *Conſpiracy.* Beſides that in Reſpect of their *Church-Parity*, they want that ordinary *Medium* of Superiority, and Subjection, to link them together in a Combination, upon the Point of *Common Intereſt.* Another Difficulty

Difficulty will arise from the *Affections* of the Pastors themselves; who are not without their touches of *Disgust*, and *Emulation*, to see themselves either *Out-vied*, or *Deserted*: the *One*, by Fuller Congregations; and the *Other*, by the Removal of their Members from one Church to another.

Presb. **If I am not mistaken, you have provided against the Inconvenience of Breaking in One upon Another; by an Obligation at your Entrance into any Church, not to forsake it without Leave. But proceed.**

Indep. There remains yet behind, another Obstacle, equal to all the rest: Which is; that the *Independents* have no Men that are Eminent for *Popularity*, *Interest*, *Great Fortunes*, and *Abilities*, to head them. Now how it is possible for a Party under all these Disadvantages, to work any Mischief to the State, I am not wise enough to imagine. If you object, that the late *Independent Government* had many Persons at the Helm, that were qualified with these Circumstances. I must Answer you, that whatever they were, they did not set up Originally for *Independency*.

Presb. **So that upon the Result, to save**

ſave your Party from Appearing *Dangerous*, you have made it *Contemptible*. And your Argument would have run very well in These Words. *The* Independents *may better be Tolerated then the* Presbyterians: *for no Body that has either* Brains, *or* Reputation, *will own* Independency.

Indep. As an Intereſt (you ſhould have ſaid) *whereupon to work any Change of Government.* (And this would have been point-blank to the Queſtion, and your Period never the worſe for't.)

Now if my Reaſon be good on the behalf of the *Independents*, that They may be *Tolerated* without any Riſque to the Commonwealth, upon the Conſiderations before mentioned: It will hold as good againſt the *Presbyterians*; becauſe of the very Contrary Circumſtances in their Government, and Caſe. That is to ſay, They are at great *Agreement* in the Orderly Reduction, and Connexion of their *Polity*; and they have commonly found *Great Friends* to uphold them in their Pretenſes.

My firſt Exception to *Presbytery* is, that it is a *National Church-Government*. And Methinks *Two National Church-Governments* in the *ſame Kingdom*, looks like a

Sharing

Sharing of the *Sovereignty*, and the setting up of *Christs Vicar* against *Gods Vicegerent*. And what will the People say in the Matter, but either that the Government thinks them in the *Right*, or else that 'tis *affraid* of them? The *former* Supposition draws the *Simple* into the Party upon *Conscience*; and the *Latter* engages the *Crafty* upon *Interest*.

To take it now in the Constitutive *Parts* of it; The Scale of the *Presbytery* rises Thus: From *Parochial* Inspection, to *Classical*; from *Classical* to *Provincial*; and from *Provincial*, to *National*: Which Extensive *Latitude*, and *Comprehension*, does plainly discover, that there was a Design of *Sole*, and *Sovereign Dominion* in the very Institution of the *Discipline*.

To say nothing in this Place of the *Absolute*, and *Independent Authority* Claimed, and Exercised by the *General Assembly*; I shall only observe this to you: That they have the best Security in the World, for their Subjects Obedience to all their Acts, and Conclusions whatsoever. For *Life*, *Fortune*, *Soul*, and all lies at Stake: They *Fine*, *Punish*, *Degrade*, *Excommunicate* at Pleasure. And this is the True Reason, that from time to time, the *Presbyterial Discipline* has had

hid the Countenance of ſo many Popular *Advocates*, and Abetters. For certainly it is the beſt Foundation for an Alteration of State, that ever was yet laid upon the Face of the Earth; and their Work is three quarters done to their hand, in the very Diſpoſition of the *Model*.

Only one Obſervation more, and I have done. And That is, The Provident Commixture of *Laity*, and *Clergy* in all their Counſels; *Theſe* to Attaque the *Church*, the *Other*, the *State*; by which means, they may the more commodiouſly carry on *Schiſm*, and *Sedition* in their proper Seaſons: and leave a Door of Preferment, and Advantage, open to all Comers.

I will not ſay yet, that it is *abſolutely Impoſſible* for a *Proteſtant Monarchy*, and this *Double-refin'd Presbytery* to proſper in the ſame Soil: But if I had Money in my Pocket, I would not give any Prince in Chriſtendom above Eighteen Months Purchaſe for his Crown, that ſhould put it to the Venture. For he has nothing in the World to truſt to, but Miracles: The *Gratitude*, *Faith*, *Good Nature*, and *Pure Integrity* of the *Party*.

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SECT. XXVIII.

Whether may be better Tolerated in This Kingdom, The Presbyterians, *or the* Independents; *in Reſpect of their* PRINCIPLES, *and* Ordinary PROCEEDINGS.

Debated, First, *With Relation to his* Majeſties PERSON, *and* AUTHORITY.

Indep. THe Government of *England* is *Monarchique*; but ſo attemper'd with *Legal Proviſions* for the *Comfort*, and *Benefit* of the *People*, that every *Engliſhman* has his *Intereſt* in the Preſervation of the *Law*; as That which Intitles him to the Free Enjoyment of his *Life* and *Fortune*: So that we are to frame our Diſcourſe with a Regard to His *Majeſties PERSON*, and *Royal AUTHORITY*; The *Foundation*, and *Execution* of the *LAW*; The *Rights*, and *Juſt Liberties* of the *PEOPLE*: Utterly excluding from the Limits of Our *Toleration*, all *Power* or *Pretenſe* whatſoever, that ſhall preſume to Uſurp upon any

any of Theſe Particulars. Now to begin with the *Firſt*.

What do you find in the *Independent Way*, that may endanger his Majeſty, either in his *Perſon*, or in his *Prerogative*?

Presb. **The Princes of *Germany* would Anſwer you, that your Proceedings are *Sanguinary*, and *Violent*: not only againſt your *Actual Oppoſers*, but againſt the very Ordinance of *Magiſtracy it ſelf*.**

Indep. What are the Furies of the *Anabaptiſts* to *Us*, that have Declared againſt them, as well as *You*? But if you can faſten upon thoſe of the *Congregational* Way, any *Antimonarchical Opinions*, or *Practiſes*, which are either wrap't up in the Bowels of That Profeſſion, or naturally Iſſuing from thence: and make good your Aſſertion, by proving what you ſay, to have been the Formal Act of any *One* of our Churches by it *ſelf*, or *More* of them in *Combination*, I will never open my Mouth after it, in a Plea for the *Independents*.

Presb. **It were a hard matter indeed to faſten any thing upon the *Principles* of a *Party*, that profeſſes to have *no Principles*, but ſtill refers it ſelf to the Guidance of a *Further Light*.**

Indep. And yet you can *blame* us for our *Principles*, though by your own Confession, you know not What they are. Now for the *Reserve* of Acting according to a *Further Light*; It is expresst, in the Ordinary Form of our *Church Covenant*, that *it is to be reach'd unto us out of the Word*; which most assuredly will not lead us into any Evil.

If this be all you have to say against the *Independents*, I would gladly hear what Defence you are able to make for the *Presbyterians*: Either *Simply*, and in *Themselves*; or else *Comparatively* with any other sort of People. Nay, I should not much care if you took the *Jesuits* Themselves for your *Foil*.

Presb. **How can you say This? Considering,** [*that Thundring of* **Excommunication, which has sounded in all Ages, since the beginning of the** *Papal Reign*, **against** *Kings, Emperours, &c.*

Disc of Relig. Part 1. p 3.

Ibid. p. 4. *And These Practises* **Justified by their Decretals,** *and* **Canons; Divines** *of greatest Authority, and some of their* **Councils:** *Ascribing to the* **Pope** *a Power of* **Deposing Princes** *that are* **Heretical,** *or* **Favourers of Heretiques.** *The* **Jesuits** *Doctrine of* KING-KILLING **hath made them Odious,** *&c.*

Indep.

Indep. Do you tell us of *PAPAL-EXCOMMUNICATIONS*, juſtified by *Canons*, *Divines*, *Councils*; *DEPOSING* of *Kings* for *Hereſie*; and the *Jeſuits Doctrine* of *KING-KILLING*, *&c?* The *Diſciple* ſhould ſpeak Reverently of his *Maſter*: for I aſſure you, a *Jeſuits* Cloak ſits exceedingly well upon the Shoulders of a *Presbyterian*.

To Diſcipline, *muſt all the States within the Realm be Subject, as well the* Rulers, *as the* Ruled. (According to the *Diſcipline* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, Printed in *London*, 1647. *Scotch* Diſcipline, p. 59.

The Perſon *of the* Magiſtrate *ought to be Subject to the* Kirk, Spiritually, *and in ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT: Submitting himſelf to the* Diſcipline *of the* Kirk, *if he Tranſgreſs in Matters of* Conſcience, *and* Religion. *Beza*, *Buchanan*, (and in truth, the whole Brotherhood) are for the *Excommunication* of *Princes*. So that there's *Presbyterial EXGOMMUNICATION* you ſee, as well as *Papal*. Ibid. p. 78. P. 79.

And in Caſe of *Superſtition*, and *Idolatry*, the *Presbyter* can *DEPOSE* too, as well as the *Pope*, in Caſe of *Hereſie*. Was not the *Queen-Regent* in *Scotland* (1559.) Depoſed, upon the Encouragement,

ment, and with the Approbation of *Willock*, *Knox*, and their Fellows? As *not doing her Duty to the Subjects*; *and as a vehement Mainteiner of Superſtition, and Idolatry*? Did not the *Commiſſioners* of the *Kirk* (in 1596.) threaten an Open *Proteſtation* againſt *King James*, and *his Council*, in Caſe of either *Pardoning*, or *Reſtoring* the *Popiſh Lords* that were at that time under *Baniſhment*?

Hiſt. of Reform. Printed 1644. p. 195. Spotſw. Hiſt. p. 418

As to the *Jeſuits Doctrine* of *KING-KILLING*; We are able not only to *Match*, but to *Out-doe* it, out of the *School* of the *Conſiſtory*. There is no doubt but the *Jeſuits* are Guilty of Delivering *Doctrine* that naturally leads to *King-Killing Concluſions*. But do ye find that ever they ſaid in plain Terms; *It is Lawful for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their Sovereign, in Caſe of Religion*; *Or that ever they Publiquely Applauded the Murther of a Prince, after the Fact was Committed*? Certainly, in this Particular, the *Conſiſtorian Copy* goes beyond the *Papal Original*.

Upon a dangerous Uproar that was raiſed by the *Miniſters*, in *Edinburgh*, (1596.) The King by Proclamation, diſcharged all *Judicatories* from Sitting there. Whereupon the *Miniſters* preſt

Ibid. p. 431.

a

a Bond of Aſſociation, upon the *Noblemen*, and *Barons*; and ſent a Letter (drawn by *Robert Bruce*, and *Walter Balcanquel*) to the Lord *Hamilton* to *Head* them: For *by the Motion of God's Spirit, and animated by the Word, the People had gone to Arms*, in Defence *of the Church*, &c.

Not to trouble you with a Rabble of Unneceſſary Inſtances: In the *Ninth Section*, there has been ſaid more than enough upon this Subject already. You ſhall now ſee the Veneration they have for the *PERSONS* of *Princes*.

Gibſon, in the Pulpit, denounced that Curſe againſt King *James*, that fell upon *Jeroboam*: that *he ſhould die Childleſs*, and *be the laſt of the Race*. (An. 1585.) which words, by the *Aſſembly*, (with much a do, and after declining the Queſtion, were found to be *Scandalous*. *Spotſw.* Hiſt. pa. 343. Ibid. 367.

David Blake preached, that *all Kings were the Devils Barns*, and *His Majeſty had detected the Treachery of his Heart*. For which he was cited before King and Council, and appeal'd to the *Presbytery*, who by their *Commiſſioners* moved his Majeſty for *a Surceaſe of the Proceſs*, with a charge, in caſe of refuſal, to Proteſt againſt the Proceedings of the Counſel. Ibid. 419. Ibid. 423

Quasi Pulpita (sayes *Cambden*) *a Regum Authoritate essent Exempta.* As if Pulpits were priviledged from the Authority of Princes.

Ibid. 430. *John Welch*, at the High Church in *Edinburgh*, preached, that *the King was possest with a Devil, and that the People might Rise Lawfully, and take the Sword out of his hand.*

But what is all this, in comparison with the License of the late times here at Home, when the *Two Houses*, and *Assembly* were daily entertained with *Sermons* and *Pamphlets* of this Quality, for which the Authors had their *Thanks*, and *Imprimanturs?* But I shall rather confine my self now, to the *Arbitrary* excesses of the *Scottish Presbytery*, as the *Model* of the *Covenanted* and blessed *Reformation.*

To come now to their *Usurpation* upon the *Civil Power.*

King *James* was surpriz'd at *Ruthuen* (1582.) under pretext of *Religion*, and kept 5 months a Prisoner. This Act was Ibid. 322. publiquely *justified* by the *Assembly* at *Edinburgh*, as done *for the Preservation of the Kings Person and Religion.*

Ibid. 330. In the Case of *Andrew Melvil:* It was insisted upon, that *Treason* in the *Pulpit*, fell

fell under the Cognition of the *Presbytery*, and that neither *King* nor *Counsel*, *Primâ Instantiâ*, ought to meddle with it. But it is a much easier matter to find what a Prince may *not* do, (under the Inspection of a *Presbytery*) then what he *may*.

He must not (*a*) receive an *Embassader*, nor (*b*) pardon an *Offender*, without the Approbation of the *Kirk*. Nor so much as chuse his own *Guards*; (*c*) *Court-Officers*, or *Counsellers*, nor Issue out any *Proclamations* or *Decrees*. They are to direct him (*d*) what *Forfeitures* to take, and how to *dispose* of them: *when* to *Arme*, and *whom* to *Trust*. If the King has a a mind to *Feast* an *Embassader*, they presenly indict a *Fast* (*e*); and Curse the Magistrates almost to *Excommunication*, for not observing it. Nay so little Power had King *James* with these people, that (*f*) when his Mother was under a Sentence of *Death*, he could not get them so much as to *Pray* for her, *That God would Illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and save her from the Apparent danger she was in.*

(*a*) Ibid. 324. (*b*) 398. (*c*) 419. (*d*) 405. (*e*) 334. (*f*) 354.

On the other side; they claim to themselves the Power of *Warr*, and *Peace*; of Calling and Dissolving *Assemblies*; and whensoever they shall think fit to say, that

the

King's large Declaration, p. 415.

the Good of the Church; *the Glory of God*; *or any Spiritual end is concerned*, They make no Scruple in the World, of *Levying Armes, Men, Monies*; *Seizing of Castles, and Forts*; *Issuing out of Warrants for Members of Parliament.* (a) They impose *Oaths* and *Covenants* against the *King Himself*; (b) Encounter *Proclamations* with *Anti-Protests*; (c) *Rescind Acts of Counsels*, &c. And what's the colour for all this Haughtiness and State? The *Ministers* (forsooth) are *Christs Deputies*; and their *Acts* are *Christ's Ordinances*; whereas *Judges*, *Counsellers*, and *Parliaments* are but the *King's Substitutes*, and their *Laws* only *Humane.*

(a) Ibid. 87.

(b) 98.

(c) Pag. 416.

Presb. **You are not any more to conclude against the** *Presbyterial Government*, **from the Present of some** *Factious Assemblies*, **than against the Constitution of** *Parliaments*, **from the Present of some** *Seditious Compositions* **and** *Elections.*

Indep. Neither do I charge these Imposing *Usurpations* upon the Confederacy of a *Cabal*, or a *Faction*, but upon the *Original Scope*, and *Mystery* of the *Discipline*; for I find them rooted in the very *Foundation* of their *Policy.*

Their Pragmatical Intermedling in *Civil*

Civil Affairs, and Matters of *State*, is warranted by their *Book of Government*; where it is said, that *The Minister handleth* External things, *only for* Conscience *cause*: Now I would fain know That Notion which may not some way or other, be made Relative to *Conscience*. Scotch Discipline p. 79.

For *Limiting the Magistrate in the Exercise of his Power*, they have this Plea; that *though the Ministers do not* EXERCE *the Civil Jurisdiction, they* TEACH *the Magistrate how it should be Exercised, according to the Word.* So that the *Prince* is put to *Schoole* to the *Masterships* of his *Parish*, to learn every *point* and *circumstance* of his *Duty*. Ibid. p. 79.

Now for the *Absolute*, and *Boundless Jurisdiction* of their *General Assemblies*: They tell us, not only that *The Kirk is to appoint Times and Places convenient for their Meeting*; *but that as well* Magistrates, *as* Inferiours, *are to be* SUBJECT *to the* JUDGMENT *of the same*; *in* Ecclesiastical Causes, *without any Reclamations or* APPEAL, *to any Judge* Civil *or* Ecclesiastical. Ibid. p 97.

Is not this a *Dethroning* of *Majesty*, to set *Princes*, and *Peasants* upon the *same Level* in point of *Subjection* to their *Resolutions* and *Decrees*?

Presb.

Ibid. p. 91. *Presb.* Not at all; For *the Magiſtrate is to aſſiſt, and maintein the Diſcipline of the Kirk; And puniſh them Civilly that will not obey the Cenſure of the ſame.*

Indep. In truth it is a Goodly Office, you have allotted the *Chief Magiſtrate*; to ſet him *Cheek by Jowle* with the *Beadle of the Pariſh*: You are to *direct* the Puniſhment, and *He* is to *Execute* it.

But what if he ſhould prove *Refractary*, and *diſpute* your *Authority?* In Caſe of *Contumacy*, *He* is as Liable to *Cenſure* (you ſay) as *another perſon.* And then you have no more to do, but to reſort to your ordinary Method of Calling in the *Noblemen*, *Barons*, *Gentlemen*, *Burgeſſes*, and *Commens* to your Aſſiſtance againſt him.

Let me now marque to you, two Paſſages in your Diſcipline, that make two Ibid. 61. ſhrewd diſcoveries. [*A Miniſter* (you ſay) *muſt not frequent, and commonly haunt the* COURT, *unleſs either ſent by the Kirk, or called upon by Authority for his Counſel, and Judgment in* CIVIL AFFAIRS. And afterwards, you ſay, Ibid. 44. that, *Miniſters may and ſhould aſſiſt their Princes, when required, in all things agreeable to the Word; whether it be in* COUN-

COUNSEL, or PARIAMENT, or otherwiſe. Provided, that through Flattery of Princes, they hurt not the Publique ſtate of the Church.

Whence it appears; *Firſt*, that *ſimple Presbyters* may do well enough in *Parliaments*, or *Councils*; though *Biſhops* are *Excluded*: were it not *Secondly*, for the danger of creating a Kindneſs betwixt the *King*, and the *Kirk*; which in conſequence would fruſtrate the main Deſign. For the *Prime end* of this *Church Policy* is the *Overtopping* and *Subjecting* of the *Secular Power*: and it was wiſely done to temper the very *Foundation* of it with Principles of *Oppoſition* to the *Order*, and *well Being* of *Civil Government*. B

SECT.

SECT. XXIX.

A *The Queſtion of* Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency; *Debated, with regard to the* Foundation, *and* Execution *of the* LAW.

Presb. **What if you had put the Queſtion, betwixt a** *Peaceable*, **and** *Obedient* **ſort of people, and a Generation of men that cannot live out of** *Contention?*

Indep. The *men of Contention*, I ſuppoſe you would have me underſtand to be the *Independents*. What's the Quarrel to them upon the matter now before us?

Presb. **Only This: that they are Intolerable in any Government. How many Plots have they had upon this Kingdom, ſince his Majeſties Return? There was** *Venner's Riſing*; **A** *Conſpiracy* **in the** *North*; **Another in** *Ireland.*

Indep, And all this while, you forget the Rebellion in *Scotland*, which was profeſſedly *Presbyterian*; beſide that, Theſe

Theſe diſorders which you ſpeak of, were nothing at all to the *Independents:* But (one way or other) theſe Inſtances are to no purpoſe without ſome *Authoritative* Allowance; and Pray'e let us agree upon it, that only the *Concluſions* of the *Kirk*, on the *one* hand, and of the *Church* on the *other*, may be Inſiſted upon, as the *Acts* of *either Party.*

Presb. **I do not find that the** *Independent* **Churches come to** *any Reſolutions at all.*

Indep. You have the leſs to ſay then againſt their *Principles*; and I wiſh the *Independents* could ſay the ſame thing for the *Presbyterians.*

How far, I beſeech you, are *Humane Laws Binding?*

Presb. **So far forth as they are agreeable to** *the Word of God.*

Indep. And who ſhall Determine what *Laws* and *Conſtitutions* are agreeable to *God's Word?*

Presb. **The Church Lawfully Conſtitute; which** *all Godly Princes, and Magiſtrates ought to hear, and to obey their voice, and reverence the Majeſty of the Son of God ſpeaking in them.* 2d. Book of Diſc. p. 92.

Indep. I need not ask what Church that is; For *John Morellius* was *Excommunicate,*

municate, for mainteyning in a certain Treatiſe, That *TELL THE CHURCH*, did not belong to the *Conſiſtory*, and the *Book was burnt*. But to the Poynt.

If *the Word of God* be the *Rule* for *Humane Laws*; and the *Presbytery*, the ſole Expounders of the Word of God; the *Law* of the *Nation* is at the Mercy of the *Kirk* already: for 'tis but ſaying, that *This or That Law is not Agreeable to the Word of God*, and there's an end on't.

2d. Book of Diſc. p. 86. *Presb. The Kirk has Power to Abrogate and Aboliſh all Statutes, and Ordinances concerning* **Eccleſiaſtical Matters**, *that are found* **noyſome**, *and* **unprofitable**, *and agree not with the* **Time**, *or are* **abuſed** *by the People.*

Indep. If the *Kirk* has *This Power*, the *Pope Himſelf* pretends to nothing *beyond* it. Are not your *Determinations* as *peremptory*; and your *Orders* as *Imperious*? But I am ſpeaking here, as to the *Latitude* of your Pretended *Juriſdiction*. *You may abrogate All Statutes* (you ſay) *CONCERNING Eccleſiaſtical Matters*. And I ſay, on the other ſide, that you may upon that Ground, abrogate all the Statutes in the Chriſtian

Chriſtian World: for I defie the whole race of Mankind, to ſhew me any one Law extant, or the very ſuppoſition of a Law poſſible, which may not ſome way or other, be ſaid to *CONCERN Eccleſiaſtical Matters.*

Presb. **You take no notice, how this power is clogg'd with** *Limitations.* **If they be found** *Unprofitable, Unſeaſonable,* **or to be** *abuſed by the People.*

Indep. Very good: And if the *Kirk* ſhall think fit to find them ſo or ſo; Pray'e *What Remedy?* But their own *Avowed Actions*, and *Declarations*, are the Beſt *Comments* upon their own *Principles.*

Under King *James* in *Scotland*, nothing was more ordinary, then over-Ruling *Acts* of *Parliament* by the *Acts* of the *Aſſembly:* Did they not erect *a Counſel of the Church* in *Edenborough*, 1596. and take upon them to *Convene, Examine*, and *Cenſure* at pleaſure ſuch as they ſuſpected to hold any Correſpondence with certein *Excommunicate Lords?* did they not alſo appoint to meet in *Armes*, at the Tryal of them? *Spotſw. Hiſt. p. 418.* *Ib. p. 398*

Nor did they think it enough, to *Reſcind*, or *ſuperſede Acts* of *Parliament* and *General Aſſemblies:* but *People muſt* *Kings large Declaration, p. 416.*

be Qu:stion'd too for yielding Obedience to Acts of Parliament, and of General Counsels under Colour of Unjust Laws. Wee'l close this particular with the Judgment of the *Commissioners* of the *General Assembly* of *Scotland*, of *May* 5. 1648.

Declar. of the Commission. p 55. and 56.

The Authority of Parliament *is one thing; an* Act of Parliament *another thing. We do still acknowledg their* Authority, *when we obey not This or That Act. And whatsoever be the* TREASON *of Impugning the* Authority of PARLIAMENT, *It can be no* Treason *to obey* GOD *rather then* MAN: *Neither did the General Assembly of* Glasgow, 1638. *and such as were active for the Covenant at That time, commit any* Treason, *when they Impugned* Episcopacy, *and* Perth Articles, *although ratify'd, and strengthen'd by Acts of* PARLIAMENT, *and standing* LAWS *then Unrepealed.*

Presb. When we have once gotten Power into our hands, we are all too apt to abuse it. But I cannot yet perswade my self that the Root of these *Practises* is to be found in their *Principles.* Their Books of *Discipline* are *Publick*; and no Government would ever entertein it, if there were such danger in it.

Indep. How

Indep. How was the *Covenant* entertein'd? or who would have dream'd of any harm in a League for the *Preservation and Defence of the King's Majestie's Person and Authority?* And yet the *Presbyterian Interpretation*, and *Salvo* of Subordinating his Majesties SAFETY and PRESERVATION, to the *Defence of the TRUE RELIGION* (immediately following) and the *Kirks* assuming to Themselves the Judgment of that Religion, brought both *King* and *Church* to *Destruction.* Nor can you choose but Observe the *Holy Discipline*, and *Covenant*, to be both of a *Stile*, and both of a *Design*: Their Claim *concerning Ecclesiastical Matters*, hooks in all *Laws*; and *In the Defence of the true Religion*, They usurp an Authority over all *Magistrates.* This Discipline (at the best) is but a Worm at the Root of Civil Government: Whereſoever it comes, the Secular Power hangs the head, and droops upon it, and never thrives after. But to *Sovereign Princes*, a man might say of it, as God said to *Adam*, of the *Apple*: *In the day you eat thereof, you shall dye the death.*

Now as it is manifestly destructive of

Law in the very *Foundations* of it, to carry an Appeal from all *Temporal Governours* and *Constitutions*, to the Scepter and Sentence of *Christ*, sitting upon his TRIBUNAL in the PRESBYTERY (the Language of *Beza* himself) so likewise have they their Preparatory Artifices for Obstructing the *Execution* of Law, and for the *Weakening*, and *Distracting* of a Government before they enter upon the Great Work of *Dissolving* it. And this is effected by the *Trojan Horse* (as one calls it) of their *Excommunication*, that carries all the Instruments and Engines of Publique Ruine, and Confusion in the belly of it.

By Virtue of this Device, they do not only impose upon all Ministers, and Courts of Justice; but they may, when they please (as *Hooker* observes) send out their *Writs of Surcease*; and fetch in the whole Business of *Westminster-Hall*, to the Bar of the *Consistory*. Or at the fairest, (according to *Beza*'s Distinction) if they allow the *Civil Judg* to try the *Fact* (as *mere Civile*) yet *de Jure Controverso, Ecclesiasticum Synedrium constat Respondisse*: The *Church* was to determine in matter of *Law*, and the *Civil Magistrate* after That, to pronounce *Sentence*, according to

That

That Decision. Briefly, *Beza* gives the *Presbytery* the same Power under the *Gospel*, which was Exercised by the *Synagogue* under the *Law.* But now to the Point of your *Excommunication*; and to shew you in what manner it is apply'd, to hinder the *Execution* of *Law*; and *to obstruct Civil Justice.*

By One Clause of your Discipline, You may *Abrogate* what Laws you please, concerning *Ecclesiastical Matters*: And by Another; The Minister is Authorized to handle *External* things, for *Conscience* Cause: So that your *Authority* is without Controul in *Ecclesiastical Matters*; and so is your *Liberty* of handling *Civil Matters* as *Ecclesiastical.* Upon which Bottom was founded an Assertion not long since maintained at the *Savoy*, i. e. *That the Command of a most Lawful Act is sinful, if That Act commanded may prove to any One a Sin per Accidens.* Now if the *Kirk* shall think fit to *Abrogate* a Law (as nothing more frequent) whoever shall presume to *Execute* That Law, is sure to be *Excommunicate*: And the *Supreme Magistrate* himself is no less lyable to *Church Censure*, for not *Executing* That Sentence, then the *Inferior Magistrate* was for his *Original Disobedience.*

Spotsw. Hist. P. 345.

The Bishop of St. *Andrews* (in 1586.) was *Excommunicate* for Advising King *James* to a Declaration against Certain Fugitive Ministers that were denounced Rebels; and Contriving the Statutes of (1584.) touching *The Kings Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes*. *Knox* is for *Excommunication* in all Crimes, that are *Capital* by the Law of God; and in effect, for the *Churches* Tryal of the very *Fact*. It was not for nothing that the *Two Houses* held the *Assembly* so long in Play, upon this Point; and in Despight of all Importunities to the Contrary, kept the staffe still in their own Hands; and reserved to Themselves the *Ultimate Appeal*, in Cases of *Excommunication*.

Presb. **Was it not rather the Work of the** *Independents*? **Who (to say the Truth) were as much against any Settlement at all, as against That: And against the very Convening of the Assembly it self.**

Indep. And they had done the State a good Office, if they had totally hindred it. But this is beside our Business. We have said enough as to the Dangerous Influence of *Presbytery*, upon the Security of his *Majesty* and the *Law*. It remains now to be considered, with a respect to the *Rights*, and *Liberties* of the *People*.

SECT.

SECT. XXX.

The Question of Toleration, *betwixt* Presbytery, *and* Independency, Debated, *with a Regard to the* Rights, Liberties, *and* Advantages *of the* PEOPLE.

Indep. YOU see how it is with *Kings, Parliaments*, and *Laws*, under the Dominion of *Presbytery*. We are now to look into the Condition of the *Nobility, Gentry, Commonalty*, and of the *Presbyterial Clergy* it self, under that Discipline: Which will best appear, by a view of the Powers which the *Presbytery* claims, and Exercises. But let me Commend One Note to you as Previous to that Examination. This Party has constantly screw'd it self into the World, by an *Oath* of *Mutual Defence*: Which *Oath* they apply as well to the Ruine and Extirpation of their Opponents, as to their own Preservation; by making it a Test of good Affection to That Interest; and Excluding all People whatsoever from any Office, or Benefit Ecclesiastical, or Civil, without subscribing it. You cannot deny but this *Oath* in the very Institution of it, is a Violence both

upon *Law*, and *Conscience*; and Consequently, that the Imposition falls heaviest upon those that make an Honourable, and Religious Scruple of their Actions. So that here is already exposed the most Considerable part of the Nation, for the Subject of their Displeasure; with their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes* at *Mercy*; as you will find upon a further Consideration of their Usurped *Authority*, and *Jurisdiction*.

Presb. **Leave this way of General Discourse, and come to Particular Instances. Where is it, that you find This Exorbitant Power that you talk of?**

Indep. In the very *Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly of Scotland*, 1648. page 53. [*The Duties of the Second Table as well as of the First: As namely, the Duties between* King, *and* Subject; Parents, *and* Children; Husbands, *and* Wives; Masters, *and* Servants, *and the Like; being conteined in, and to be taught and cleared from the Word of God, are in That Respect, and so far as concerneth the Point of Conscience, a Subject of Ministerial Doctrine, and in Difficult Cases, a Subject of Cognizance and Judgment to the Assembly of the Kirk.* The Dispute here was about the *Assemblies Authority*,

thority, in the Question of *War* or *Peace*.

Is not This at one Blow to destroy the Order of all Relations, *Political*, *Natural*, and *Moral*? *Princes* must not presume to make *War* or *Peace*; To *Enact* Laws, or *Abrogate*; To *Spare* or *Punish*, without *Ecclesiastical Licence*. The *Subject* must go to the *Masters of the Parish*, to know whether, he shall *Obey Authority*, or *Resist* it. And after the same manner it fares with *Parents*, and *Children*; *Husbands*, and *Wives*; *Masters*, and *Servants*; So that there is not any Person, either Publique, or Private; Or any Action, or Office, of Regard to *Community*, *Family*, or *Alliance*, that scapes their Pragmatical *Scrutiny*, and *Inspection*.

Presb. **So far as these Duties are matter of** *Conscience*, **there is no Doubt, but they are of** *Ecclesiastical Cognisance*; **and further then so, they make no Pretension.**

Indep. But you must give me leave to tell you then, that their Consciences are larger then other Peoples. *The Old Nonconformist* (as an Expedient for the settling *Ecclesiastical Affairs* (Page 43.) proposes the setting up of *Work-Houses* for the *Poor*; the Carrying on of the *Fishing Trade*;

Trade; The taking off of *Protections*; that none may be Impriſon'd but according to *Law*: and the Abatement of *Taxes*. The Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* 1638. paſſed an Act concerning *Salmon Fiſhing*, and another about *Salt-Pans*. And all This I Warrant ye, *ſo far as they concerned Point of Conſcience*. But if you would ſee, what the *Conſiſtory* calls *Conſcience*, in the full Extent, we muſt repair for ſatisfaction, to their *Direction*, and *Practiſes* in the matter of *Conſcience*, and *Excommunication*.

The Kirk proceeds to *Excommunication* in all *Capital Crimes*, *where the Offender that deſerv'd to dye, is ſuffer'd to live*. And in Caſes of *Fornication*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Swearing*, *Curſing*, *Sabbath-Breaking*, *Wanton Words*, *Contempt of the Orders of the Church*; *Oppreſſion of the Poor*; *Deceipt in Buying and Selling*, *by wrong Mete and Meaſure*.

Presb. **Well; and what hurt's in all this?**

Indep. None at all: But let me proceed. They Cenſure alſo *Exceſs* in *Apparel*, *Meat*, or *Drink*, *UNCOMELY GESTURES*; *Contentiouſneſs*, *without reaſonable Cauſe*; *Chiding*, *Brawling*, *VAIN-*

VAIN WORDS; *Every fault that tendeth to the Hurt of a Man's Neighbour, or to the Hindrance of the Glory of God*: Whether by *Force*, or *Fraud*; *Word*, or *Deed*; *Manifestly*, or *Secretly*; *Purposely*, or *Ignorantly*: And the Judgment of the whole is left to the Discretion of the Church. So that your very *Thoughts* are not free. [*The Spiritual Ruler* (says the Book of Discipline) *Judgeth Both* Inward Affections, *and External Actions in respect of Conscience, by the Word of God.* Upon which ground they take upon them to Censure the very *SUSPICION of Avarice*, and *Pride*: *Superfluity* or *Riotousness*, in *Chear* or *Rayment*. But upon *Dancers*, *Robin Hoods*, and *all Games that brings Loss*, they have no mercy. These particulars are extracted to a syllable out of the most Authentical Records they have to shew for the Warrant of the *Scottish Discipline* - (Our Blessed Model.) Page. 79.

But many People perchance will make it a matter of nothing to be *Excommunicate* upon a Supposition that the *Anathema* is the uttermost spite of the *Censure*. They never dream of *Cartings*, *Fogges*, *Pillories*, *Shaving their Beards*, and *Cutting half the Hair of their Heads*. *Banishments*, *Pecuniary Mulcts*, *Close Imprison-* Presbytery Display'd. p. 4.

prisonments, and all sorts of Studied Defamations.

Ibid. p 39. Nay, *If any man refuse to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, Rule of Government, and Manner of Worship, He is forthwith Excommunicate; and upon Remonstrance of a Commissioner from the Presbytery to the Civil Judg, a Warrant granted, commanding him to Conform by a Day Certein, or to be* OUTLAWED. *If he Conform not within that time, his* ESTATE MOVEABLE *is* FORFEITED; *and if not within a Year and a Day, he Loses his whole* REVENUE *for his Life. After* This, *at the further Instance of the Churches Commissioner, Out go* Letters of Caption, *for Apprehending of his Person, and Committing him as a Rebel. And if he be not to be found; These are follow'd with* Letters of Inter-Communing, *forbidding all men either Personally to Confer with him, or by Letter, or interposed Person to Correspond with him, upon Pein of the* Inter-Communers *being Judged and Reputed a* Rebel *of the same Guiltiness.*

Book of Discipline. p. 56. As to the *General Rule* of *Excommunication; no Person* (Wife and Family excepted) *is to have any Communication with the Excommunicate; be it in Eating or Drink-*

Drinking; Buying or Selling; Yea in Saluting or Talking with Him: Unleſs at Commandment or Licenſe of the Miniſtry for his Converſion. His Children Begotten and Born after That Sentence not to be admitted to Baptiſm, till of Age to require it; Unleſs the Mother or ſome ſpecial Friends, Members of the Kirk, Offer and Preſent the Child, Damning the Iniquity and Contempt of the Impenitent. There are that do not allow *Husbands* to accompany with their *Wives* in the State of *Excommunication.* Ibid. p. 57. Spotſw. Hiſt. p. 436.

Now upon what has been deliver'd, Let any Man Conſider the *Unchriſtian Rigor* of This *Diſciplinary Inquiſition*; not only in the Actual Tyranny of it, but in the more Miſerable Conſequences.

Firſt as it *Scandalizes* the *Goſpel*, and *makes the Death of Chriſt ſeem to be no Effect*, by Impoſing upon Us ſuch Conditions of Salvation, as if the Bleſſed Angels ſhould deſcend, and Indue Humane ſhapes, they were not able to perform. For it is not what Chriſt and his Apoſtles ſay, that will do a Man's buſineſs here, without the *Urim* and *Thummim* of the *Parochial Seſſion*, and the Defects of the *Written Word*, are to be ſupplyed by *Unwritten Traditions* out of the Repoſitory of the Unchriſtian Rigor.

Preſ-

Presbyterial Cabale. In this Case it is that we are to have recourse to the Apostles Precept; of *Standing fast in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us Free, and not to be intangled again in the Yoke of Bondage.* (A Yoke much more intolerable then That of the Law;) For the *Jews* had their Lesson before their Eyes, and knew what they were to do. But here, it matters not what either *Scripture* or *Conscience* says, without the subsequent Concurrence of the *Presbytery:* to whose Supreme, and Infallible Judgment (and not to our own) We are to stand or fall either to Heaven, or Hell.

The *Rigor* of this *Discipline* is most *Un-Christian* also, as *it Crucifies Weak Consciences with Needless, Infinite,* and *Incurable Scruples*; with *Scruples* that Haunt, Dog, and Torment us in the most *Necessary, and Ordinary Actions of Humane Life.* At the *Church*; at the *Table*; at the *Market*; at *Home*, and *Abroad.* At all *Times*, in all *Places*, and upon all *Occasions*, in our *Words, Thoughts*, and *Deeds.*

Excess in Eating censurable.

As to *Excess in Eating.* It is *Censurable* either in the *Quantity*, or in the *Quality.* So that in the *first* place the *Eldership* is to provide One Common Gage for the Stomache

Stomachs of the whole Pariſh, for fear of a Mouthful too much. And in the *ſecond* Place, it is made a matter of *Salvation*, or *Damnation*, whether a Man Eats *Beef*, or *Veniſon*.

And ſo, for *Exceſs* in *APPAREL*. Apparel. One Inch more, then to Cover your ſhame, is a *Superfluity*; and One Peny more, in the Pound, then the *Allowance* of the *Presbytery*, is made as much as a Man's Soul is worth.

It is the ſame thing for *VAIN WORDS*. Vain words. A Nurſe ſhall not dare to ſtill her Child but with a Pſalm; and you muſt not preſume ſo much as to ask *What a Clock it is*, without a *Text*; to prove that the Queſtion tends to *Edification*.

But the hardeſt Caſe of all is, That of *SUSPICION*. Suſpicion of Pride. The very *Suſpicion* of *Avarice*, or *Pride*, You ſay, makes a Man lyable to Cenſure. This, methinks, is very ſevere, for a Man to be delivered over to *Sathan*, becauſe the Brotherhood *Suſpects* him to be *Proud*, or *Covetous*; whether he be ſo, or no.

Presb. **'Tis to be preſumed, that the Church will proceed according to a Judgment of *Charity*, and *Diſcretion*.**

Indep. Did not the *Kirk Excommuni-*

cate

cate the *whole Multitude* for a *Robin-Hood*? Nay at *St. Johnſtons*, they curſed not only the *Men*, that ſhould take part with the King, but the very *Horſes*, and *Spears*. (Here's an *Excommunication* by way of *Advance*) Upon the Action of Duke *Hamilton* in 1648. the whole Party were *Excommunicate* (even *after* the Defeat: (as appears by the *Scotch Act for Renewing the Covenant.*)

In ſome Caſes again, They are as *Tender* and *Cautelous*. *Andrew Hunter* (a Prime ſtickler for the Diſcipline) attended *Bothwel* as his Chaplain, in a Rebellion, 1593. But King *James* could not prevail with the Aſſembly to *Excommunicate* Him for it; (though no Doubt was made of the Fact) Nay, on the Contrary, They would not be quiet, till they had got *Bothwell*'s Pardon. And upon *Gowry*'s attempt (in the Year 1600.) His Majeſty required the Miniſters of *Edenburgh* to give God thanks in their Churches for his Deliverance, and they refuſed it.

Spotſw. Hiſtory. p. 395.

Ibid. 460.

But to the Point we were upon. As nothing can be more Contrary to the *Temper* and *Dictate* of the *Holy Goſpel* then the Claim of this *Arbitrary* and *Cenſorious Juriſdiction*: It ſeems to me to ſtand in an equal Degree of Oppoſition to the

Rules

Rules of *Society*, *Humanity*, and *Reaſon*.

The KING is upon his good Behaviour to the *Elders*, and *Deacons* (*who are Judges of others manners*) as well as the Meaneſt man in the Pariſh. He is indeed (as is obſerv'd by the Author of *Presbytery Diſplayd*) the *Chief Member* of the *General Aſſembly*; but they allow him no Negative Voice; and if he has the Fortune to be *Out-Voted*, he muſt cauſe the Sentence to be *Executed*, whatever it be, under Pein of *Cenſure*, and Conſequently of *Deprivation*. Book of Diſcipline. p. 61

Of *Acts of Parliament*, and *Inferiour Magiſtrates*, enough is ſpoken already.

As to the State of the NOBILITY, and GENTRY, they are either *Conformiſts* to the Government, or *Diſſenters*; and muſt take their Lot in it, to be either *Sovereigns*, or *Slaves*: (for that's the diſtribution of it.) Upon the Mayn Theſe *Domini Dominantium* Challenge by their Commiſſion to be *no Reſpecters of Perſons*; and ſo lay upon all Sorts, and Conditions of Men in General at their good Pleaſure certein *Common Impoſitions*, Importing their *Servility*, and *Subjection*, and whoſe *Livery* they wear.

2d. Book of Discipl. p. 97.

I must not omit one Peculiar Obligation, the *Nobility*, and *Gentry* have to these their Gracious Masters: Which is the Easing them of their *Patronages*, and *Presentations to Benefices*, because *These things flowed from the Pope, and the Corruption of the Canon Law only, and are Contrary to the Word of God, and the Peoples Liberty of Electing their own Ministers.* [For (say They) *this is altogether to be avoided, that any man be violently Intruded, or Thrust in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all Care, must be reserved to every several Church, to have their Votes, and Suffrages in Election of their Ministers.*

1st. Book of Discipl. p. 29.

Ibid. p. 29.

Observe now, I beseech you, the *Peoples Liberty*, in this Choice. *Violent Intrusion we call it not, when the Counsel of the Church, in the fear of God, and for the salvation of the People, offereth unto them a sufficient Man, to Instruct them. If his Doctrine be found wholesome, and able to Instruct the Simple, and if the Church justly can reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine, nor Utterance, then we judg the Church Unreasonable, if they refuse him, whom the Church did offer; and they shou'd be compelled by the Censure of the Counsel, and Church, to receive the Person appointed.* Here's *Liberty* upon *Compulsion*; and it

most Palpable, that your whole Design is the Interest of a Party.

Come now to the men of Ordinary *Business*, and *Traffick*. The *Presbytery* will put an end to all their Disputes, about *Free Trade*, *Priviledges*, and matter of *Commerce*, with a wet Finger. Did they not by an *Act of Assembly at Dundy* 1592. Prohibit the *Scots Trading* with any of the King of *Spains* Dominions, under Pein of *Excommunication*? And his Majesty refusing to comply with them, (at the Instance of the *Spanish Merchants*) Did they not proceed to *Censure* the *Merchants*? So that there shall be no *Trading*, but where they please: And no *Markets* neither but upon their good liking too. Did they not by their Proper Authority Discharge the *Munday-Market* in *Edinburgh*? But the *Shoo-makers* indeed were too hard for the *Elders* this bout, and told them plainly, they would turn out all their *Ministers* by Head and Shoulders first, before they parted with their *Market*. Upon which Menace they were quiet. *Spotsw. Hist. pa.* 393. Ibid. 394.

The Author of *Presbytery Display'd*, gives you some Instances of the *Presbyteries Interposal*, in Actions of *Debt*, and menacing *Landlords*, and *Creditors*, with P. 10.

Excommunication, unleſs they laid down the *Proceſs*: Upon Pretenſe Forſooth, that though it was in a *Civil Cauſe*, it had yet a *Spiritual Proſpect*: *Withdrew People from their Callings, and Hindred the Progreſs of the Goſpel.*

And this is no more, then any man will reaſonably Expect, that looks but with half an eye upon the very *Frame*, and *Proviſion* of the *Diſcipline*. Is not he a mad man, that thinks to recover a Debt at *Common Law*, againſt any Member, or Members Friend of the *Presbytery*, when 'tis but flying to the Canon of the *Conſiſtory*, to ſilence the Diſpute, and telling Him, that *He is Contentious without a Reaſonable Cauſe?* Cannot the *Church* put an End to Striſe among Brethren, as well as the *Civil Magiſtrate?* It is a matter of Evil Example, and *tends to the Hurt of our Neighbour*. If the Creditor be Obſtinate, and will not take good Counſel, Out flyes an *Excommunication* againſt Him, *for refuſing to obey the Orders of the Church.*

I would now fain underſtand, what it is that ſets ſo many of the MINISTERS a Gog upon this Platform; For certeinly, They are of all Mortals the moſt Contemptible: (the *Junto*, and ſome few of the

Their *Discipline* Divides the *Church Patrimony into four Parts One* for the *Pastor*; *Another* for the *Elders*, *Deacons*, and other *Kirk-Officers*; their *Doctors*, and *Schools*. *A Third* for *Charitable Uses*: and *the Rest* for *Repairing of Churches*, and other Incidental Charges. So that the *Clergy* is strip'd already of 3. *Parts* of 4 of their *Legal Maintenance*, Book of Disc. p. 98.

And then for the poor Pittance that is left; so much as will keep Life and Soul together, they are allow'd in *Meal*, and *Mault*; and totally dependent upon the Mercy of the Church for the rest. And yet for this pittiful stipend, *They are to be call'd to Accompt how they spend it*; *and their Wives*, *and Children*, *to be thrown at last upon the Charge of the Parish*. In their *Preaching*, they are Limited by the *Direction*, and *Design* of their *Leaders*: Only *Tenants at Will* in their *Cures*; and lyable to be *Removed*, *Suspended*, or *Deposed* at Pleasure. This *Arbitrary Dominion*, together with the *Shameful Condition* of their *Bondage*, has proved so great a Discouragement to the *Ministry*, that they have found themselves forc'd to *Press Ministers* into the Service, as they would do *Souldiers*. And where they find men of Abilities for their Purpose, The *Civil Magistrate* Book of Discipl. p. 34. Ibid. 61. Ibid. p. 35.

Ibid. p. 32. is call'd upon, to *compel them to the Ministry.*
Ibid. p. 44. Nay rather than fail, *the Nobility and Gentry must bring up their Children, to the Service, and good Liking of the Kirk, under Pein of Church-Censure.*

A Jurisdiction exercised according to the Latitude of This Discipline, One would think, might satisfie any Reasonable sort of People. But alas! If they do not as much Exceed their *own Bounds*, in their *Practise*, as they exceed all *other Models* in their *Pretensions*, they reckon it as good as nothing. They can *Cite People* out of a *Remote Jurisdiction. Deprive whole Presbyterys for Dissent.* (Kings Declaration, page 314) Call *Nine Presbyters* of *Fifty, a General Assembly.* (Spotswood, p. 490.) *Demolish Churches* (304.) and *Dispose of the Patrimony* (311.) and what not?

More needs not be said, as to the Empire They Exercise over *King, Lords,* and *Commons,* severally, and in divers Respects: We come now to their Usurpations upon the Common *Rights*, and *Priviledges* of *Mankind.*

CHIDING (as I told you) they have drawn within the Compass of *Ecclesiastical Censure.* So that *Masters* shall not Reprove their *Servants,* nor *Parents* their

their *Children*; without leave of the *Elderſhip*, (to the utter Diſſolution of the *Order* and *Diſcipline* of *Private Families*.) Nay, they have taken in BRAWLING too, and made every *Billingſgate Quarrel*, every Brabble betwixt a Butter-Whore and an Oyſterwench, a Subject of *Conſiſtorial Cognizance*.

Under the Cenſure of LEWD CUSTOMS are Comprized all ſorts of *Publique Sports*, *Exerciſes*, and *Recreations*, that have been long in Uſe; upon the Worſhipful Pretenſe (forſooth) that they had their Original from the times of *Paganiſm*, or *Popery*: As *Comedies*, *Interludes*, *Wraſtlings*, *Foot-Ball-Play*, *May-Games*, *Whitſon-ales*, *Morrice-Dances*, *Bear-baitings*; Nay the Poor *Roſemary*, *and Bayes*, *and Chriſtmas-Pye*, is made an *Abomination*.

Presb. **And are not the** *Independents* **as much againſt theſe Fooleries as the** *Presbyterians*?

Indep. No, we take Our own Freedom, to forbear what we diſlike our ſelves; and allow other People their Liberty, to Practiſe what pleaſes them. But to proceed.

All GAMES *that bring* LOSS are Prohibited, *Tennis*, *Bowles*, *Billiards*;

Not so much as a Game at *Stool-Ball* for a *Tansy*, or a *Cross and Pyle* for the odd Penny of a Reckoning, upon Pein of *Damnation.*

——*Shortly, Boys shall not Play*
At Span-Counter, or Blow-Point, but shall Pay
Toll to some Presbyter.——

What do you think now of UNCOMELY GESTURES? That *a man shall be given to the Devil*, for *Lolling* upon his *Elbow*, or setting on his *Back-side*, in the Presence of the *Deacon* of the Parish.

And the Like for *Excess* in EATING, or APPAREL. Every Bit we put into our Mouths, and every Rag we put upon our Backs, becomes a Snare to Us. It may be either too *much*, or too *costly*: and What Reformation soever the Kirk shall think fit to Order, either in our *Clothes*, or *Diet*, must be observ'd, with the same Degree of *Submission*, and *Obedience*, as if the matter in Question were *an Article of our Creed.*

Their Censure of VAIN WORDS is yet more Rigorous, and reaches for ought we know, to the honestest Endearments, and Familiarities of Friendship, and Conversation, even to the Exclusion of Com-

mon

mon Decency, and Civility. But let Our *Words* be what they will, We are ſtill dependent upon the good Pleaſure of the *Elderſhip*, whether they will pronounce them *Vain*, or *Edifying*.

But why ſhould a man expect to ſcape for WORDS, where THOUGHT it ſelf is Cenſurable? SUSPICION of *Avarice*, *Pride*, &c. (as you have heard) He that ſues to recover a Debt, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Avarice*. He that refuſes to Crouch like the Aſſe under the Burthen, ſhall be *ſuſpected of Pride*. And for a *Man and a Woman to be only ſeen together*, ſhall be ground enough for a *ſuſpicion* of *Incontinency*. Nay, they ſhall be *Cited*, *Interrogated*, *Cloſe-Committed*, and put to *Bread and Water* upon it; and compell'd to *Swear in Propriam Turpitudinem*. After all This, and that no *Proof* appears, and that they purge themſelves upon *Oath*: It ſhall be yet *Enacted by the Aſſembly*, *that if ever Theſe two ſhall be ſeen again in Company together, unleſs at Church, or Market, they ſhall be taken* pro Confeſſo *for Guilty*. Presb. Diſplay'd. p. 9.

A *whole Volume* (ſays the Author of *Presbytery Diſplay'd*) *might be written of Young Women by theſe Courſes, diſgraced, and Defamed: Of many Families divided, and ſcatter'd; whereas before there was never*

ver any jealousie betwixt the Man and the Wife.

Presb. These are Objections rather of *Passion*, and *Extravagance*, then of *Argument*.

Indep. They are no other then such *Conclusions*, as the *Premisses* will very well bear.

Presb. I have heard indeed of several *Wild*, and *sensless Scruples* charg'd upon the *Independents*: As that they made it a matter of *Religion* to *Piss abed*, and *ride Hobby-Horses*, because it is said, *Except ye become as little Children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*, Matth. 18. 3.

Indep. Pray give me leave to requite You with three or four *Presbyterian Scruples*: out of *Bancrofts Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, page 368.

Move Mr. Cartwright, *and some other Our Reverend Brethren to deliver their Judgments*, Whether all laying out of Hair be forbidden to all Women: *especicially at their Repair to the Publick Meetings of the Church?*

Pig to Field, 1586.

A Question riseth in my Mind, Whether one that Professeth Christ truly, may, according to the same Profession, delight in, and use Hawking, and Hunting; *so no Unchristian*

Ed. Brow. to Field.

christian Behaviour otherwise be joyned therewith.

Let me know your Judgment particularly: Whether it be in any respect tolerable for Women, that profess Religion, and the Reformation, to Wear Dublets, Little Hats with Feathers: great Gowns after the French, and Outlandish Fashion: Great Ruffes, and Hair, *either* Curled, *or* Frisled, *or set out upon* Wires, *and such like Devices.* *Walker* to *Field.*

I would be glad to have your Judgment in the Fourth Commandment: *Whether the strict Prohibition of* not kindling Fire on the Sabbath, *be of the Substance of the* Moral Precept. *Cholm* to *Field.*

In the same Author you will find a Catalogue of Pleasant Names too. *The Lord is Near. More Tryal. Reformation. Discipline. Joy again. Sufficient. From above. Free Gifts. More Fruit. Dust.* And in the next Page, he tells you of one *Snape* that proceeded toward the *Baptizing* of a Child, till they came to Name it, *Richard*, and then brake off, for fear it would not have prov'd a *Christian*, if he had so Baptized it. Dangerous Positions, p. 104.

I cannot pass from these Phantastical *Absurdities* in your *Practises*, without some Reflection upon those in your *Constitution*. To say nothing of your *Disagreements*

agreements among your ſelves, about your *Officers*, and *Diſcipline*. What can be more Ridiculous than to Authorize a *Cobler* to Correct *Majeſty*, *Mechanicks* to Determine in *Points of Faith?* Are not your *Elders joyn'd in Commiſſion with your Miniſters, for the Examination of the Perſon that offers himſelf to the Miniſtry, in all the Chief Points in Controverſie betwixt us and the* Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, Arrians, *&c?* Are not *the* Elders, *and* Deacons *fit Perſons* (think ye) *to be made Judges of Theological* Niceties; *and to Admoniſh, and Reprove a Miniſter, that Propones not faithful* Doctrine? Has not your *General Aſſembly*, rather the *Face* of a *Council of State*, then of a *Counſel of the Church?* (And in Truth the *Buſineſs* too.) Behold the Compoſition (I beſeech ye) of the Pretended *Aſſembly* at *Glaſgow*, 1638. *Seven Earls, Ten Lords, Forty Gentlemen*, And *One and Fifty Burgeſſes*, to Determine of *Faith*, and *Church Cenſures*.

Book of Diſcipl. p. 28.

Ibid. 60.

Kings large Declaration, p. 315.

Now to take a Brief View of the whole. What greater *Slavery* in the world, can be imagined, then to live in Subjection to a Government; where you ſhall have, neither *Freedom* of *Conſcience, Law, Perſon*, or *Fortune*? Where you ſhall not *Speak, Look, Move, Eat, Drink, Dreſs your*

ſelf,

ſelf; Nay, not ſo much as entertein a *Thought*, but at your *Peril*? And to be in This Bondage too unto the *Meaneſt*, and moſt *Inſolent* of your *Fellows*? For none but ſuch will ever engage themſelves in the Exerciſe of ſo Inhumane a Tyranny. And for a further Aggravation of the *Shame*, and *Guilt* of the Faction: Let me deſire you, but to caſt an eye upon their Proceedings, under King *James* in *Scotland*, and here under Queen *Elizabeth*; where you ſhall find that they were never ſo Impetuous, and Bold, as when they found the *King*, and the *State* in Diſtreſs, upon the Apprehenſion of *Forreign Dangers*. And ſo for the *Queen*, upon the buſineſs of *Eighty Eight*: Whereas the *Independents* never ſo confined themſelves to the Proſecution of their *Private Intereſts*, as to Hazard the Betraying of their *Countrey* to *Forreigners*: And particularly, in the Late Engagements at Sea, againſt the *French*, and *Dutch*, many of them have given Signal Teſtimony, and Proof of their Fidelity, and Valour.

I ſhould not have Engroſs'd This whole Diſcourſe to my ſelf, but in Perſuance of a Point, wherein you have Confeſt beforehand, that you had nothing further to oppoſe: That is to ſay, Concerning the *Principles* of the Parties in Queſtion. Nei-

Neither is any thing I have hitherto deliver'd, to be taken as a *Challenge*, and *Claim* of a *Toleration*, of such a Quality, as to enter into a *Competition* with the *Peace* and *Security*, *of the Publique*: But This I promise my self, that if it shall appear reasonable to *Authority*, to allow of any *Relaxation*, The *Independents Plea*, upon all Considerations of Common *Equity*, and *Safety*, will stand good against That of the *Presbyterians*,

From whose *Tripple-Crown'd Consistory*; that Lords it Over *Souls*, *Bodies*, and *Estates*; Over *Kings*, *Nobles*, and *Commons*; Over *Laws*, *Magistrates*, and all Sorts, and Ranks of *Men*, and *Interests*; That turns *Gospel* into *Law*; *Communities* into *Deserts*; *Men* into *Beasts*;

GOOD LORD DELIVER US.

THE END.